

# The Classical Review

JUNE 1902.

DOMINE SALVUM FAC REGEM.

OUR readers will doubtless agree that the auspicious celebration which falls within the present month should not pass without some commemoration from the *Classical Review*, and we trust also that they will agree that it would be hard for it to offer a more appropriate tribute to the coronation of our gracious Sovereign, KING EDWARD VII. than the expression of these hopes and prayers which our National Anthem so fitly embodies, through the medium of ancient metres of the two classical tongues. So far as we are aware, no attempt of the kind has hitherto been made in either classical Latin or Greek, though their elder sister Sanskrit was employed, in the Jubilee year 1887, in a version by the late Professor Max Müller, which was presently followed by another in the same language from the pen of a native gentleman of India.

The text of the National Anthem cannot be regarded as definitely established. In fact not only its authorship but its variants offer scope for the exercise of the historical and literary criticism which it is one of the functions of this journal to encourage. The materials may be found in Dr. W. H. Cummings' *God Save the King* published in the present year by Messrs. Novello and Co., an interesting little book which we recommend to our readers. The subjoined English text which, as will be seen, differs in several lines from the current version, has been constructed by Mr. Walter Headlam from Dr. Cummings' materials: and will probably be deemed to have in rhyme and perhaps in some other respects an advantage over the more familiar form. The version which Dr. Cummings himself recommends for adoption in the new reign and century differs from it only in having in the second stanza 'On him our hopes are fixed,' an unimportant, and in the third stanza 'With heart and voice to sing,' a more material variation.

Of the two renderings here published it will be seen that the Greek adopts the metre of the famous scion upon Harmodius and Aristogiton, the Latin that of the hymn to Diana, Catullus xxxiv.

We append from Dr. Cummings' book the words of a Latin chorus which appears to have been used together with the English version at a performance given on November 28, 1743, the birthday of the Princess Augusta, wife of Frederick Prince of Wales, the book of words being still extant.

## I.

O Deus Optime  
Salvum nunc facito  
Regem nostrum;  
Sit laeta victoria  
Comes et gloria,  
Salvum jam facito,  
Tu dominum.

## II.

Exurgat Dominus;  
Rebelles dissipet,  
Et reprimat;  
Dolos Confundito;  
Fraudes depellito;  
In te sit sita Spes!  
O! Salva Nos.

## GOD SAVE THE KING.

*Anglice, Graece, Latine.*

God save our Lord the King,  
 Long live our noble King,  
     God save the King.  
 Send him victorious,  
 Happy and glorious,  
 Long to reign over us,  
     God save the King.

O Lord our God, arise,  
 Scatter his enemies,  
     And make them fall :  
 Confound their Politicks,  
 Frustrate their knavish tricks,  
 On him our hopes we fix ;  
     God save us all.

Thy choicest gifts in store  
 On him be pleased to pour ;  
     Long may he reign.  
 May he defend our laws  
 And ever give us cause  
 To cry with loud applause  
     God save the King !

*τρίτην Διὸς Ὡτήρος εὐκταίαν λίβα.*

ὦ Ζεῦ, τῆσδ' ἐπίδοις ἄνακτα χώρας  
 εὐαίωνα τε καὶ μεγιστόνικον,  
 θεότιμον ἰσχυοντα κράτος  
 τῶνδε φίλων πολιτῶν πολλὸν ἐς χρόνον.

ἐχθρῶν ἐς γόνυ βάλλε φῦλ' ἀναστὰς  
 αὐταῖς ταῖς κακομηχάνοισι πείραις,  
 ἐπὶ τοῖδε δ' ὁρμούσαν ὄρων  
 ἡμετέραν ἔτ' ὄρθην πύλιν ἀμφέπειν.

ἐσθλῶν τῶν παρὰ σοὶ τὰ λῶστα δοίης  
 πρόφρων τῷδ', ἵν' ἔχοι νῦν ἂδ' ἐσαιεῖ  
 πατρίους φυλάσσοντα νόμους  
 εὐλογία δικάως ἀπὸ καρδίας.

W. HEADLAM.

Di rex te bone sospitent ;  
 di te, ciuibus o tuis  
 lumen grande, superstitem,  
     rex, diu bene seruent.  
 di martem tibi prosperum ac  
 laetum dent decus, et tuo  
 praesis ut populo diu  
     di bonum bene seruent.

hostiles tibi Iuppiter  
 praesens dissipet impetus  
 et graui faciat cadant  
     ingentique ruina.  
 pessum eat dolus impius,  
 pessum fraus mala, dique te  
 (spes in te sita publicast)  
     nobis, nos tibi seruent.

hinc large tibi defluat  
 quicquid muneris optimist :  
 hinc regnum tibi posterum  
     prorogetur in aeuom.  
 tu leges patriae pie  
 uindicans face ut omnium  
 clarus usque sonet fauor :  
     di rex te bone seruent.

J. P. POSTGATE.

## TRANSPOSITION OF WORDS IN MSS.

No question in textual criticism has had more downright partisans on either side than this of words transposed. It would be easy to quote opinions from many critics, that to change the traditional order of the words is an arbitrary and absurd expedient; but that is not my game, and if I quote the view of any critic who has set his face against it, my object will not be to triumph over him.

There is only one way of acquiring a sure hand in textual criticism, and that is to observe what the transcribers actually do—and what they don't do: a certain knowledge of palaeography is necessary, of course, and easy to acquire; but palaeography is only the first foundation for emending texts; sound judgment in that region cannot be attained except by constantly observing various readings. How many critics at the present day would claim that various readings have been their constant observation? Now that interest in Classical authors has generally been so much widened, editors ought to combine as many virtues as Du Maurier's policeman; and it is not surprising they should often be impatient of this grovelling pursuit; but those who are bold enough to steer by their own stars are apt to fall into one of two extremes; they either launch out wildly and re-write their author altogether, or they hug the shore and treat their text as though it had been handed down by an apostolical succession of inspired transcribers: which they do depends upon their temperament, but the apologists for Inspiration are prepared to defend you any *Mumpsimus*, in defiance of such human arguments as metre and the usage of the language.<sup>1</sup> My reasoning is not with them, but with those who can accept the great principle so often insisted on by Cobet: 'est in codicibus Graecis et, ut suspicor, in Latinis quoque quaedam peccandi veluti constantia solentque τὰ αὐτὰ

<sup>1</sup> 'Facile est et haec et alia omnia utcumque interpretari, si quod voles fingere licebit et Graecitatis rationem et usum contemnere, sed, ut lenissime dicam, quid prodest locum difficiliorem sic interpretari, ut statim appareat meliorem interpretationem aut emendationem esse quaerendam? Quis non saepe vidit interpretationes mirificas, quorum auctoribus praeter sanam mentem et Graeci sermonis interiorum intelligentiam nihil prorsus deficit? Ne dicam de Aeschylī locis, in quibus illo modo interpretandis multi iudicio suo vim afferunt, proferam unum Aristophanis locum . . . ' Cobet *Noeae Lectiones* p. VII (1858)

περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀμαρτάνειν, et quo quis plura de genere hoc aut ipse repererit aut ab alio reperta in promptu habeat, eo ad verum inveniendum accedit paratior.'<sup>2</sup>

It will be conceded that those critics who have pronounced that transposition is among the safest and most probable of all expedients have not been those whose actual familiarity with texts has been the least. Porson, who was keenly interested in the matter and refers to it often in his Correspondence, says in his preface to Euripides p. 7: 'Hoc semel observandum est, nihil tam frequenter in librariorum cadere, quam verborum ordinem immutare. Hunc errorem illi quidem, ubi animadvertunt, aliquando literis numerabilibus indicant: sed has notas ii, qui postea codicem exseribunt, dum ad finem operis properant, saepe negligunt. Tutissima proinde corrigendi ratio est vocabulorum, si opus est, transpositio.' Cobet, *Coll. Crit.* p. 188 'Non est aliud vitiorum genus in poetarum locis frequentius quam ut verba suo loco mota et disiecta sint, neque ulla emendandi ratio est certior et evidentior quam transpositio. Insigne huius rei exemplum praebet locus incerti Tragici apud Nauckium pag. [861] fragm. [110]. Clemens Alexandrinus haec servavit: μέλλων ἐαντὸν ἀποσφάττειν ὁ Αἴας κέκραγεν· οὐδὲν οὖν ἦν πρᾶγμα ἐλευθέρου ψυχὴν δάκνον οὕτως ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀτιμία.' Poetae manus superest in Chrysippi libello περὶ ἀποφατικῶν:

οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν πῆμ' ἐλευθέρου δάκνον  
ψυχὴν ὁμοίως ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἀτιμία.'

Their practical experience showed them that the thing did happen frequently; but the reason why it happened has never, apparently, been stated or perceived: therefore it is not altogether unreasonable that editors should be reluctant to admit it at the present day.<sup>3</sup> Prof. Bury, for example, on Pind. I. iii. 67 καὶ δεύτερον ἀμαρτάνειν ἀέθλων τέρμα | γίνεται hesitates to adopt Schmid's correction ἐτείων τέρμα ἀέθλων, complaining of 'the critical difficulty that the order of words in the MSS. is not accounted for.' The reason that accounts for it is in truth so simple that I hope such doubts as these will be at once resolved. The error which the copyist commits in such a case does not consist in

<sup>2</sup> *V. L.* p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Gilbert Murray, I am glad to see, does not reject the principle in his Euripides, *Andr.* 289, *Hipp.* 733.

writing the words in any order at haphazard, but in arranging them according to the order they would have in prose; according to their grammatical construction. Sometimes this is done deliberately; more often it is merely the result of inadvertence. Words in verse especially are apt to be displaced out of their most natural order; the copyist's eye instinctively goes ranging for the construction of the sentence, and his next step, unconscious or deliberate, is to write the words in that construction. That is the case in the two passages just quoted, and it will be found to be the case almost invariably when the order is disturbed. Having observed this practice of theirs and tested it and made use of it for many years, I have been in the habit of denoting it by the letters *s.o.* meaning 'simple order,' *simplex ordo*; there ought to be some intelligible and convenient term for general currency, and if mine will not serve, will some one invent a better for the purpose?

The following list could be increased indefinitely, but should be enough to prove its point:

Aesch. *Ag.* 1048 cod. f. καὶ κακῶν φρενῶν

<sup>α</sup>  
κλύει

Soph. *Phil.* 859 *v.l.* ἀλεῖς ἐσθλὸς ὕπνος

„ *Ant.* 998 τέχνης τῆς ἐμῆς σημεῖα κλύων

„ *El.* 809 τῆς ἐμῆς φρενὸς οἶχη

„ *Phil.* 156 μὴ με λάθῃ προσπεισῶν: for προσπεισῶν με λάθῃ Hermann

„ *Ant.* 1128 ἐνθα Κωρύκται Νύμφαι στείχουσι: for στείχουσι νύμφαι Blaydes

„ „ 1304 ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐμοὶ καλὸν τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὔτε σοί

„ *O. C.* 1506 τύχην τις ἐσθλὴν θῆκε τῇσδε τῆς ὁδοῦ

Aesch. *Ag.* 405 πόλει πρόστριμμ' ἄφερτον θείς: for πρόστριμμα θείς ἄφερτον Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

„ „ 1143 ἰὼ λιγείας ἀηδόνας μύρον: for μύρον ἀηδόνας Hermann

„ *Pers.* 168 ταῦτά μοι διπλῇ μέριμν' ἀφραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσίν: διπλῇ should come last, Porson

„ *Theb.* 1056 μονόκλαστον θρήνον ἔχων ἀδελφῆς: *v.l.* for ἔχων θρήνον

Ar. *Nub.* 599 πάγχρυσον οἶκον ἔχεις: *v.l.* for ἔχεις οἶκον

Eur. *Bacch.* 1367 ἀγέρατον ὄνομ' ἔχων ἐν Θήβαις

„ *Alc.* 81 βασιλείαν πενθείν χρή ἢ ζῶσ' ἐτι φῶς τὸδε λεύσσει Πελοῖον παῖς

Elegant anapaestic verses, are they not? What they gain in clearness hardly compensates for what they lose in metre.

Aesch. *Eum.* 578 *v.l.* τί τοῦδε σοὶ πράγματος μέτεστι λέγε

Eur. *Ion.* 552 ἐκ τίνος δέ σοι μητρός πέφυκα; ΞΟ. οὐκ ἔγω φράσαι

„ *Hipp.* 625 ὁ δ' αὖ λαβὼν εἰς δόμον ἀτηρὸν φυτὸν

„ *I. A.* 1341 τί δὲ φεύγεις, τέκνον; for τι δὲ, τέκνον, φεύγεις;

„ *Or.* 485 πρὸς τὸνδ' ἀγὼν τις σοφίας ἦκει περί;

„ „ 491 πληγείς τῆς ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς ὑπὲρ κάρη (κάρη θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς πληγείς ὑπο Hermann)

„ „ 499 αὐτὸς κακίων ἐγένετο μητέρα κτανὼν

„ *Hee.* 1012 τάλαιναί τάλαιναί κόραι Φρυγῶν dochmiae

„ *El.* 324 οὐπόποτ' οὐ χοῆς οὐδὲ κλῶνα μυρσίνης | ἔλαβε: for οὐπω χοῆς ποτ' (Porson) or χοῆς ποτ' ἔλαβεν οὐδὲ κλῶνα μυρσίνης | οὐπω,

„ *fragm.* 1025 θεοῦ γὰρ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς εὐτυχέῃ βροτῶν *v.l.* for θεοῦ γὰρ οὐδεὶς χωρὶς

„ *fragm.* 1129 *v.l.* θεὸν δ' εἰπέ μοι ποῖον νομιστέον;

„ *fragm.* 943 τετραμόρφοις ὦραις ζευγνὸς ἁρμονίᾳ πολὺ-καρπον ὄχημα:

read ὦραις ἁρμονίᾳ ζευγνὸς or ἄ. ζ. ὦραις

*Rhesus* 51 μήποτέ τινα μέμψιν εἰς ἐμ' εἶπης: for μήποτέ τιν' ἐς ἐμὲ μέμψιν εἶπης

Ar. *Ran.* 1474 *v.l.* αἰσχιστον ἔργον μ' εἰργασμένος προσβλέπεις

„ *Plut.* 715 *v.l.* ὅπως γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγας εἶχε μὰ τὸν Δία

„ *Acharn.* 207 *v.l.* εἰ τις οἶδ' ὅποι γῆς τέτραπται ὁ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρων

„ *Eg.* 797 *v.l.* ἵνα γ' Ἑλλήνων πάντων ἄρξῃ ἔστι γὰρ . . .

Ath. 451d: Achaëus Nauck p. 582: τὸν Σπαρτιάτην γραπτὸν κύρβιν ἐν διπλῇ ξύλω

„ 338b: Mnesimachus II p. 442 Kock: οὐκ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς Δωριῶν ἐνδον ἔστιν: for ἔστι Δωριῶν ἐνδον Porson

„ 426a: Clearchus II p. 409 K. προπίομαι | συγγενέσι πίστωμα φιλίας: πίων ἐρῶ | τὰ λοιπά

„ 563a: Theophilus II p. 477 K. ἦν ἰδὲν ἰδὼν ἔστιν ἢ τὸ θεωρικόν: for ἦν ἔστ' ἰδεῖν ἦδιον ἢ τὸ θεωρικόν Canter.

No  
Bacch  
need  
dorff's  
Hel.  
ἐρμυ  
doubt  
what  
might

Eur

„

Eul

Alex

Aesc



Ath. 104e: Ar. *fr.* I p. 473 K. *ιχθύς τις ἔωγται ἢ σπηίδιον*: given correctly in 324b.

„ 29c: Archestratus *δοκήσει* | *οὐκ οἶνφ σοι ἔχειν ὅμοιον γέρας*: for *σοι ὅμοιον ἔχειν γέρας* Meineke

Simonid. 5. 10 *θεὸς ἂν μόνος τοῦτ' ἔχοι γέρας*: *vv. ll.* *ἔχοι τοῦτο* (or *τοῦτο τὸ γέρας*)

Anacreon 2. 5 *ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων κορυφὰς*: for *κορυφὰς ὀρέων* Barnes.

A.P. xii. 48 *αἰθαλέιο πυρὸς ῥιπῇσι τρυφηλαὶ σάρκες* | *ληφθεῖσαι*: probably for *σάρκες ἵπ' αἰθαλέιο* . . .

Soph. *fr.* 234 *τέμνεται βλαστονμένη* | *ὀπώρα καλῶς*: for *καλῶς ὀπώρα* Barnes.

„ „ 122 *νόμος γάρ ἐστι τοῖς βαρβάροις θυηπολεῖν βρότειον ἀρχήθεν γέρος τῷ Κρόνῳ*

„ „ 770 *v.l.* *πικρὰν χολὴν κλύζουσι φαρμάκῳ πικρῷ*

Eur. *fr.* 1119 *ὄχληρὸς δὲ ξένος ὄφις μολὼν* Chares p. 826 Nauck *ὅστις δὲ μὴ γαστρὸς κρατεῖν ἐπίσταται v.l.* for *γαστρὸς μὴ*

Trag. *fr.* adesp. 548 *σὺ δ' ὧ τεκούσα μὴ τὴν σὴν λιβάσι κατὰσπενδε παρηίδα*: read *λιβάσι μὴ παρηίδα* | *τὴν σὴν κατὰσπενδε*

Paroemiogr. II p. 274 *ὅμοιον τῷ 'πολύ-ποδος πολυχρόν νόν ἰσχε'*.

No one surely now when he finds in Eur. *Bacch.* 652 *λευκῆς χιῶνος ἀνείσαν εὐαγείας βολαί* need have any scruple in accepting L. Dindorf's correction *λευκῆς ἀνείσαν χιῶνος* (as *Hel.* 3 *λευκῆς τακείσης χιῶνος*). In *O.T.* 719 *ἔρριψεν ἄλλων χειρὶν εἰς ἄβατον ὅρος* it is a doubtful question; but it will be seen that what Musgrave conjectured, *ἄβατον εἰς ὅρος*, might very easily have been altered.

#### INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES :

Eur. *Andr.* 862 *ἀτὰρ δὴ τίς ὦν πυνθάγη τάδε*; for *πυνθάγη τίς ὦν τάδε*; see Wecklein for the MSS.

„ *I.A.* 1366 *ἐμὲ δέ τί χρὴ δρᾶν τότε*; for *δρᾶν τί χρὴ* Kirchhoff

Eubulus II p. 207 Koch *ιχθὺν δὲ ποῦ* (or *δέ ποῦ*) *Ὀμηρος ἐσθίωντ' εἶρηκε*; other MSS., finding this hiatus, insert *γε*, their common expedient for avoiding it, *ιχθὺν δὲ ποῦ γ' Ὀμηρος ἐσθίωντ' εἶρηκε*; but even so it drags a little at the end! *ιχθὺν δ' Ὀμηρος ἐσθίωντ' εἶρηκε ποῦ*; Grotius.

Alexandr. III p. 372 Kock *τί χρὴ τοῦτο*; or *τί τούτων χρὴ*; for *τούτῳ τί χρὴ*; Hermann

Aesch. *Supp.* 814 *τίν' ἀμφ' αὐτῶς ἐτι πόρον* for *ἀμφυγῶς τίν' ἐτι πόρον*

Aesch. *Theb.* 98 *πότ', εἰ μὴ νῦν*, (the usual form) for *εἰ μὴ νῦν, πότ' Lowinski*

Aristophon (Ath. 161e) II 279 K. *πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, οἰόμεθα τοὺς πάλα ποτὲ . . .*; but an unmetrical *v.l.* *τί ποτ' οἰόμεθα τοὺς πάλα* . . .

There is an interesting case in a fragment quoted by Plut. *Mor.* 1098 B (Nauck *adesp.* 418, Kock III 604), which begins *τί κάθη καὶ πῶμεν*. Meineke V 121 corrected this to *κλίθῃτι καὶ πῶμεν*, observing that Euripides used the same words in the *Cyclus*, *fr.* 691; so in the *Cyclops* 539 he has *κλίθῃτι*, to drink. We see now what the process of corruption was: *ΚΛΙΘΗΤΙ* to *ΚΑΘΗΤΙ* (as *κλιθῶ* to *καὶ θῶ* in *Antig.* 1342), taken to mean *κάθη τί*; and altered to *τί κάθη*;

Eur. *Hipp.* 558 *οἶον ἂ Κῦπρις ἔρπει*: for *ἂ Κῦπρις οἶον ἔρπει* Monk.

Timotheus *ὅτε κάρνξ εἶπεν*: for *κάρνξ ὅτ' εἶπεν* Bergk III p. 623.

Soph. *Phil.* 861 *ἀλλ' ὥς τις Ἀῖδα πάρα κείμενος*: for *ἀλλά τις ὥς Wunder*.—so in *fr.* 336 *κυλισθεῖς ὥς τις ὄνος ἰσόσπριος* may easily be for *ὄνος ἰσόσπριος τις ὥς*: if it were not a satyric fragment, one might feel sure.

Eur. *Supp.* 496 *οὓς ὕβρις ἀπώλεσεν*: for *ὕβρις οὓς* Barnes, which throws the emphasis on *ὕβρις*, 'whose destruction was due to their insolence.'

„ *El.* 1156 *μέλεον ἂ πόσιν* | *χρόνιον ἰκόμενον εἰς οἴκους*: for *μ. εἰς οἴκους χ. ἱ. ἂ πόσιν* Weil.

„ *H.F.* 799 *ὃς γὰρ ἐξέβα θαλάμους*: for *γὰρ ὃς* Musgrave, and I independently. It is not indeed required by metre; but when there is a choice between these two, the ear has no doubt which it prefers. In Lyric, relatives are habitually postponed, and are especially avoided at the beginning of a line: if you open with a stronger word, it seems to give a firmer outline, and enables the singers to attack more briskly. Thus in *Bacchylides* viii. 56 where I, like others, had conjectured *ἂ Διὸς πλαθεῖσα λέχει τέκεν ἦρω* I feel that Prof. Herwerden's *Ζηρὸς ἂ πλαθεῖσα . . .* is an infinite improvement.—In *Trach.* 834 rhythm seems to me to call for *θάνατος ὃν ἐτέκετ'*, *ἐτρεφε δ' αἰόλος δράκων* instead of *ὃν τέκετο θάνατος*.

In Eur. *fr.* 136. 3, 4 (Ath. 561b) *ἢ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν, ὃν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἰ μοχθοῦσι μόχθους, εὐτυχῶς συνεκπίνει* it was uncritical of Nauck

to prefer the order Stob. *Flor.* 64. 6 quotes the verses in, ἡ τοῖς ἐρώσιν εὐμενὴς παρίστατο μοχθοῦσι μόχθους ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ. The inferior version puts the relative clause in its more natural place, as in Menand. *fr.* 355 (see Kock)

οὕτως ἀσυλλόγιστον ἡ τέχνη ποιεῖ  
τὸ συμφέρον τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου βίη;  
οὐ χρῆται νόμοις καθ' οὓς κρίνει τὰ πράγματα

which you restore by writing καθ' οὓς κρίνει τὰ πράγματα οὐ χρῆται νόμοις 'she follows no law that he can judge things by. Cf. Dio Chrys. II 370 *fin.*

The tendency is one; but the same passage may allow it to operate in different ways. What I mean will be made clear by an example. In Hegesipp. 1. 22 (Ath. 290 b) we get ὑπὸ τῆς ὁσμῆς γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς δυνήσεται for ὑπὸ τῆς γὰρ ὁσμῆς (Pierson), which is an order of words used even by Euripides and frequently in Comedy, as *Plut.* 1034 ὑπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἄλγους, *Lys.* 593, *Eccl.* 625, *Plat. Com.* 2, Menand. *Γεωργ.* ἀπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἔλκους; and in *A.P.* xi. 108. 2, an iambic epigram by the Emperor (or as the scholiast calls him 'the *Satan*') Julian, we have ἐν τῇ κλύῃ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν ἰσχυμένῳ. *Satan* or not, Julian knew how to scan κλύῃ, and wrote of course ἐν τῇ δὲ κλύῃ. Now in these cases the tendency has operated by joining article and substantive together; but it might have operated by making the connecting particle the second word in the sentence, as in *Eccl.* 625 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς καλοῖς *v.l.* for ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς: then we should have had ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ὁσμῆς and ἐν δὲ τῇ κλύῃ. That would have been the commoner result, for with *particles* it is their usual way to bring them up to the beginning of the sentence: in the case of δέ and γάρ and γε<sup>4</sup> you may see it everywhere; *τε* affords them few opportunities (Simonides 4. 9 Bergk); μέν is well illustrated by Cobet *N.L.* 351 from prose; *v.l.* of Eur. *fr.* 387 is καίτοι μὲν φθόνου μῦθον ἄξιον φράσω, and in Simonides 147 ἦρχεν Ἀδείμαντος μὲν... it was only to be expected there would be a *v.l.* ἦρχε μὲν Ἀδείμαντος. So mechanically do their rudimentary intelligences work that they will do this to the utter obliteration of the sense: thus in Alexis II 348 K. (Ath. 124 a) the proper reading is τακτὴς τροφῆς δὲ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν πάλιν | γλιχόμεθα τὴν μὲν μάζαν ἵνα λευκὴ παρῇ, | ζῶμον δὲ ταύτῃ μέλινα

<sup>4</sup> There is sometimes an intermediate stage when the particle appears in *both* places, as *O.T.* 970 πῶς γ' ἂν τό γ' ἄκον πρᾶγμ' . . . *Phoen.* 726 *v.l.* εἴπερ γ' ἐσφαλῆς γε δεῦρο σωθήσῃ πάλιν. *Lycophr.* 1412 οὐ μὲν γ' ὑπείξει γ' . . . Dio Chrys. II. p. 384 Reiske ἐπεὶ γε τοὺς γε τοιούτους.

μηχανόμεθα. But the MSS. must bring their μέν up to the beginning of the line, and so they give us γλιχόμεθα μὲν τὴν μάζαν ἵνα λευκὴ παρῇ. It would be hard to beat the following variant in Polyb. v. 91 στρατηγού-τος ἄγῃ μὲν τὰ τῶν αἰτωλῶν, ἀράτου δὲ παρελ-φότης τὴν τῶν ἀχαιῶν στρατηγίαν, where the true reading is of course στρατηγούτος Ἀγῆτα μὲν τῶν Ἀιτωλῶν: yet it is only typical of their proceedings; ΑΓΗΤΑ was taken to be ἄγῃ τὰ, and μὲν was thereupon transposed. A MS. gives Eur. *fr.* 387 thus, καίτοι μὲν φθόνου μῦθον ἄξιον φράσω, instead of καίτοι φθόνου μὲν μῦθον... and in exactly the same way the MS. presents us in Aesch. *Eum.* 851 with καίτοι μὲν σὺ κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα: read

ὄργας ἐννοῶ σοί, γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ.  
καίτοι σὺ μὲν <πῶν> κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα,  
φρονεῖν δὲ κάμοι Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς.

'At the same time, though no doubt you are much wiser than I, yet I am no fool either.' Soph. *Phil.* 1025 καίτοι σὺ μὲν..., ἐμὲ δὲ... Turnebus saw what the nature of the sentence called for when he thought of καίτοι σὺ μὲν κάρτ' εἶ γ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα.

They do the same with ἀρα: *O.C.* 584 σαί τ' εἶσ' ἀρ' ἀπόγονοί τε καὶ (Jebb) becomes σαί τ' ἀρ' εἶσ' or εἰσὶν ἀπόγονοι. Aesch. *Ag.* 1251 ἡ κάρτ' ἀρ' ἂν παρεσκόπεις χρησμῶν ἐμῶν may well have been ἡ κάρτα χρησμῶν ἀρα παρεκόπεις ἐμῶν. Cobet would write ἦν ἀρ' in Eur. *fr.* 810 μέγιστον ἀρ' ἦν ἡ φύσις, ... and 845 ἡ δεινὸν ἀρ' ἦν..., and so Kaibel in Antiphanes II 60 K (Ath. 449 b) ὁ Φίλιππος ἀρ' ἦν εὐτυχὴς τις καὶ Δία. In Antiphanes II 124 K. (Ath. 66 d) ἂν μὲν ἀρα πέπερι τις φέρῃ πριάμενος I have suggested ἂν μὲν πριάμενος ἀρα...

In Antiphanes 227. 9 (Ath. 60 c) τίς γὰρ οἶδ' ἡμῶν τὸ μέλλον ὅτι παθεῖν | πέπρωθ' ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων; probably the right correction is τίς οἶδεν ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον, ... Meineke suggested τίς γὰρ κατοῖδ' ἡμῶν τὸ μέλλον, but no one ever said κατεῖδέναι τὸ μέλλον.—In Pind. *N.* x. 75 θέρμα δὲ τέγγων δάκρυα στοναχαῖς I should restore the metre simply by the transposition of the particle, θερμὰ τέγγων δάκρυα δὲ στοναχαῖς.—In Pind. *O.* x. 15 τράπε δὲ Κυκνεῖα μάχα τὸν ὑπέρβιον Hermann's Aeolic form Κύκνεα may be right, but the alternative τράπε Κύκνεα δὲ μάχα does not seem to have been thought of.

The copyists expect such particles to follow the first word of the sentence: hence they are liable to mistake the punctuation, and may be led to deprave the text still further. Thus in Pind. *P.* vi. 37 they punctuated χαμαιπατέρες δ' ἀρ' ἔπος οὐκ ἀπέρυψεν αὐτοῦ

μένων δ' ὁ θεὸς ἀνὴρ... which a scholiast paraphrases τὸν λόγον ἑαυτοῦ ἔρριψεν: but it should be οὐκ ἀπέριψεν, αὐτοῦ μένων δ'... See also Eur. *Andr.* 143. The right reading (Heath) in Eur. *H.F.* 1113 is ἀρκεῖ σιωπῇ γὰρ μαθεῖν ὁ βούλομαι; but γὰρ was assumed to be the second word; a stop accordingly was placed after ἀρκεῖ, and then to get a sense the δ was changed to οὐ: so that we find ἀρκεῖ σιωπῇ (or σιωπῇ) γὰρ μαθεῖν οὐ βούλομαι.—Again in *Agam.* 231 the original text has been restored by Spanheim:

τὸ παντότῳ φρονεῖν μετέγνων  
βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις...

The copyist however assumed that γὰρ must be the second word, and therefore punctuated after βροτοῖς, the explanation offered in the schol. being ὅθεν ξῆνον πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τολμᾷ. It was probably another groping at a sense that produced the reading of cod. M, βροτοῖς θρασύνει γὰρ...

In Ath. 572 b a fragment (21) of Alexis is still corrupted from this cause. It should be

καὶ σὺ νῦν οὐχ ὡς λέγεις  
'πόρνης', 'ἑταίρας' δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνεις  
ἐληλυθὼς ἄρ' ὡς ἀληθῶς· ἔστι γοῦν  
ἀπλῇ τις. B. ἀστεία μὲν οὖν, νῆ τὸν Δία.

'So you now have fallen in love not with a πόρνη as you say, but with an ἑταῖρα in the true sense apparently: at any rate she is a simple girl'. That it should be so will be clear from the fragment (212) of Antiphanes quoted by Ath. immediately before,

ἑταῖρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο  
ἀστῆς,<sup>5</sup> ἐρήμιον δ' ἐπιτρόπων καὶ συγγενῶν,  
ἡθὺς τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης,  
ὄντως ἑταίρας,

for ἑταῖρας ὡς ἀληθῶς is exactly the same thing. The copyist, however, never dreamt that ἄρα could be placed so late, and therefore punctuated ἐληλυθὼς ἄρ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔστι γοῦν ἀπλῇ τις; which is not exactly the Attic use of γοῦν!

Let us look now at Aesch. *Pers.* 500:

θεοὺς δέ τις  
τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ τότ' εἵχετο  
λιταῖσι γαῖαν οὐρανὸν τε προσκυνῶν.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο  
στρατὺς, περὰ κρυσταλλοπήγα διὰ πόρον.

The last line is quite unrhythmical, and I have no doubt Porson was right in putting

<sup>5</sup> ἀστῆς here might suggest that in Alexis B's exclamation ἀστεία μὲν οὖν is an answer to ἀστῆ τις: but with ἀστῆ should we have had τις?

κρυσταλλοπήγα διὰ πόρον at the beginning of it. Perhaps it will be allowed that he was right when it is perceived that, as we find it, the words are in their most prosaic order. The transcriber has brought στρατός from the *apodosis* and subjoined it to ἐπαύσατο. He may have meant to make it clear that the subject of ἐπαύσατο was not the τις of the preceding sentence, for this example has the air of a deliberate alteration. The material for learning what transcribers do consists in the various readings of their MSS.; but to find out what their mental habits were you must study *scholia*; there you can see the ways their intelligences worked, the things they consider puzzling, and the way they deal with them. I am not speaking of the visual errors, but of such explanatory alterations as this one of transposition. Scholia in such cases give expression to the mental process of text-makers, and the mental process is liable to result in corruption of the text itself. Now the order of the words is the very thing which they most often think requires elucidation; there is no form of note in scholia so common as τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως 'the consecution is as follows'; and that too in cases where the merest child, you would have imagined, would not need to be informed. But this passage of the *Persae* is just one where it would be natural to find a note, τὸ ἐξῆς, ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο ὁ στρατός, περὰ κρυσταλλοπήγα διὰ πόρον.

There is a good example of this kind in Pind. *P.* iii. 9 seqq., which I will not quote, because it can easily be studied in Bergk's edition: but no illustration could be better than this from the end of the first ode of Bacchylides, which I will give as Mr. Housman and I concurred in changing it:

ὄντινα κουφόταται θυμὸν δονέουσι μέριμναι,  
ὅσσον ἂν ζῶη λάχε τόνδε χρόνον τιμάν, ἀρετὰ δ'  
ἐπίμοχθος

such a man 'hath honour during the time only that he lives upon the earth; whereas...' Since τόνδε χρόνον is not governed by λάχε, the order is a little complicated; perfectly intelligible to us, of course, but just a case for a scholiast to note τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως ὅσσον ἂν ζῶη χρόνον, τόνδ' ἔλαχεν τιμάν.<sup>7</sup> That is the order in our text.

<sup>6</sup> He need not alter the sentence more than is necessary for explanation, and since the stress is not on χρόνον but on ζῶη, ὅσσον ἂν ζῶη χρόνον is the proper order, as in Eur. *Alc.* 367 ὅντιν' ἂν παρῇ χρόνον 'as long as it is present,' Plat. *Theaet.* 172 ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ χρόνον 'for so long as it remains approved.' Dio Chrys. II 249 ὅσον ἐκείνοι χρόνον...

<sup>7</sup> So Prof. Jebb rightly reads: the MS. ποιεῖ has

The metre of the line is dactylo-epitrite, of which the basis is  $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—}$  as the 1st line of the 4th Pythian *σάμερον μὲν χρόν' σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ*. It is a strongly-marked rhythm in 4 time



and you could continue the same movement, bar after bar indefinitely; but no variation is possible that will not fall within the limits of the bars. Lines just one syllable shorter than ours are the 2nd and 5th of Pind. *N. x.* and *P.V. 545* *μηδ' ἐλάνισαιμι θεὸς ὅσας θάιναις ποτινισσομένα*: those exactly the same length are the 3rd of Pind. *O. viii.* Simonid. *fr. 57. 1* and *P.V. 914*. Prof. Blass, however, has not thought our transposition in Bacchylides even worth recording, for he maintains that the line is metrical as given in the MS. On dumb paper, indeed, his theory looks difficult of refutation; but with Greek as with any other language the only arbiter of metre is the



and this



would be the scansion of *ῥῶσον ἂν ζῶν χρόνον τόνδ' ἔλαχεν τιμάν*, by which you would get half a bar too much.

Since transpositions have been taken to be purely accidental, any change so large as this has usually been considered most improbable. If nothing but a transposition will amend the metre, critics will admit it so long as it is small enough to slip in without any question being asked. Thus in Bacchyl. *xiv. 47* a transposition is readily adopted, *Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἄρχεν δικάων*; where the MS. gives *τίς πρῶτος ἄρχεν λόγων δικάων*. This is obviously right; but not because it is only a very little one: the condition of probability is not size at all; it is that, while unmetrical, the words are in their simpler order. As a corollary of this, when metre is restored by transposition, the words ought no longer to be in the normal order of construction; and conversely, if unmetrical words are at the same time in unusual order, then transposition is not a likely remedy.

Critics have often violated this condition. For example, in Eur. *Hel. 1481* *ὄμβρον λιποῦσαι χεμέριον* Hermann wrote *ὄμβρον*

*τιμάν* with a stop before and after it, as though *τί μάν*; were meant; but this may be left out of the argument.

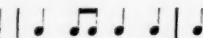
ear. Among the other examples of the line are Simonid. *57. 1*

*τίς κεν αἰνήσει νόῳ πίσυνος Λίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον*;

where *θυμῷ* according to Prof. Blass would do as well *νόῳ*: and *P.V. 914*

*πρῶτος ἐν γνώμῃ τόδ' ἐβάστασε καὶ γλώσση διεμυθολόγησεν*

where *τόδ' εὖ βάστασε* upon the same view would be merely a legitimate variety. I have profound respect for Prof. Blass, but on this point I am very sure I shall die a disbeliever. There is no such line in Greek, and how there could be I am unable to conceive. As soon in the 4th Pythian for *σάμερον μὲν χρόν' σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ* might we substitute *παρ' φωτί*. We must be prepared of course in this rhythm for an occasional syncopation  $\text{—} \text{—} \text{—} = \text{—} \text{—} \text{—}$  as at the syllable *φω* in Bacchyl. *i. (38)* *θνατοῖσιν ἄλλ' αἰεὶ τὰ φεύγοντα διζήνται κικεῖν*. The scansion of that is



*χεμέριον λιποῦσαι*: now the first thing that ought to have been assumed is that if *ὄμβρον χεμέριον* had been adjoined in the original they would not have been severed by the copyist; that they are separated now is a sign that they were always separated; and I shall show presently that the words are in the right order as they stand.—In *Trachin. 878* we find *XO. τίνι τρόπῳ θανεῖν σφε φής*; | TP. *σχετλιώτατά πρὸς γε πρᾶξιν*. *XO. εἰπὲ τῷ μύρῳ*: since *γε* is not subjoined here to the first word in the sentence, that is an indication that it is still in its right place; if you keep it there and read with Hermann *σχετλίῳ τὰ πρὸς γε πρᾶξιν*, you restore what is good in rhythm and construction; but if with Dr. J. H. Schmidt you write *σχετλιώτατά γε πρὸς πρᾶξιν*, you must suppose the copyist to have placed *γε* later, when, as we have seen, their tendency is just the contrary—and I may add, you will get the sort of rhythm you might find in Comedy but certainly you will not find in Tragedy. In Aesch. *Cho. 835* *φονίαν ἄταν τιθεῖς τὸν αἴτιον δ' ἐξαπολλὺς μόρον*, whatever the true text may be, the order has not been disturbed; it is quite uncritical to conjecture *ἐξαπολλὺς*

<sup>8</sup> Bacchyl. *i. (15)*, ix. 38, x. 5, 40, Pind. *O. xii. 19*, *P. i. 2, 4, 6*, iii. 6, iv. 7, *N. i. 7, 18*, v. 1, x. 6, 18, xi. 5, 12, *I. i. 6*, v. 6, vi. 25, *fr. 133. 5* (ed. Bergk).



τὸν αἴτιον μέρος. What many critics consider easy transpositions often seem to me extremely hard; I do not say that purely accidental transpositions never did take place, but comparatively they are very rare. In Aesch. *Theb.* 862 the MSS. give πατρώους δόμους ἑλόντες μελεῖσι σὺν αἰχμῇ against metre: many think it easy to transpose with Blomfield to δόμους πατρώους ἑλόντες: but there was nothing whatever to induce a copyist to alter that; the right plan is to separate the words that in grammar belong to one another and write with Weil δόμους ἑλόντες πατρώους.—Again in *Theb.* 710 τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους κατὰρας βλαψίφρονος Οἰδιπόδα it is quite possible that the last syllable of βλαψίφρονος is lengthened by the stress of metre<sup>9</sup>; but if the line has been disordered it is not I think to be set right by the expedient of Triclinius, Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος. When we observe that the words as handed down to us are in their simplest order, we are entitled to suspect that they have been radically altered from a more dispersed arrangement, for example κατὰρας Οἰδιπόδα τὰς περιθύμους τελέσαι βλαψίφρονος.

Disturbances as large as this have taken place, I am persuaded, many times in Lyric verse; especially in Tragedy, which has been more subjected to editing and explanation. Before offering some restorations on this principle, I must premise that when the annotators give τὸ ἐξῆς 'the order of the words', they commonly replace at the same time one or more of the original words by an explanatory synonym; and this is apt to get into the text along with the re-arrangement. It did so in Pind. *N.* x. 4

μακρὰ μὲν τὰ Περσέος ἀμφὶ Μεδοίσας Γοργόνας,

5 πολλὰ δ' Αἰγύπτῳ παλάμαις κατένασθεν ἄστυα  
ταῖς Ἐπάφου.

The metre is the simple dactylo-epitrite, which does not admit Prof. Bury's alteration. It will be seen that the order of words in v. 5 has the freedom lyric verse permitted; παλάμαις is out of its position. In the MSS. accordingly we have πολλὰ δ' Αἰγυπτῷ κατώκισθεν ἄστυ ταῖς Ἐπάφου παλάμαις. I have no doubt that Bergk was right in restoring it as given above,<sup>10</sup> replacing κατώκισθεν by

<sup>9</sup> See Bergk Pindar p. 161. νασιώτῃν ἐκίνησεν in Bacchyl. ix. 10 might be defended on this ground; but it would be easy to read κεκίνηκεν. In Pind. P. v. 42 καθίσσαντῶ, μονότροπον φυτόν is so hard to alter that I think it must be genuine, like δόρυ· σοί in Bacchyl. xvi. 90. Epic lengthened vowels when it chose before consonants that could be held, like λ μ ν ρ σ.

<sup>10</sup> Some may think it an argument in its favour

κατένασθεν, for οἰκίζειν and κατοικίζειν were (as his note shows) the regular explanatory synonyms. It has supplanted κατένασθεν again in *fr.* 119, another piece of simple Dorian rhythm:

ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ κατένασθεν  
ἐνθ' ἐνδ' ἀφορμαθέντες ὑψηλὰν πόλιν ἀμφιμένον-  
ται

and so on, where κατένασθεν for κατώκισθεν is due again to Bergk.

In *Nem.* iv. 89 τὸν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραίος προπάτωρ ὁ σὸς αἰσεται παῖ we see now how easy it is to adopt Tycho Mommsen's transposition αἰσεται, παῖ, ὁ σὸς.

O. xiv. 20 μελαντεία νῦν ἴθι  
Φερσεφόνος δόμον, Ἀχχοί,

cures the metre: the MSS. have μ. νῦν δόμον φ. ἴθ' or ἐλθ' or ἴθι. ἐλθ' is the regular synonym the commentators used for ἴθι and the like.

An epigram of Bacchylides or Simonides *A.P.* xiii. 28, which I give according to my view:

Πολλάκι δὴ φυλῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν χοροῖσιν  
ὦραι  
ἀνωλόλυνξαν κισσοφόροις ἐπὶ διθυράμβοις  
αἱ Διονυσιάδες, μίτραισι δὲ καὶ ῥόδων ἄτοις  
σοφῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐσκίασαν λιπαρῶν ἔθειραν  
θῆκαν δὲ τρίποδα σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων  
ἀέθλων  
οἱ τόνδε, κείνους Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδαξεν ἄνδρας,  
κτέ.

'*Suepe et alias victoriam reportavit Acamantis tribus: qui vero hoc victoriae signum posuerunt, eos Antigene docuit*' etc. The MS. gives οἱ τόνδε τρίποδα σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἀέθλων ἔθηκαν· κείνους δ' Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδαξεν ἄνδρας, neither sense nor metre: the transposition given above (or this, οἱ τόνδε τρίποδα σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἀέθλων θῆκαν δὲ, κείνους) restores both and gives a point to κείνους. Otherwise the critics (see Bergk III p. 497, Dübner *Anth. Pal.* II p. 465) are obliged to suppose that a couplet has been lost after v. 4, and even so are naturally dissatisfied with κείνους ἄνδρας.

Aesch. *Agam.* 99

παῖων τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνησ,  
ἧ νῦν τότε μὲν κακόφρων τέλειθι,  
τότε δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἀγανὰ φαίνεις  
ἐλπίσιν ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἀπληστον  
τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύτῃσ φρένα.

that παλάμαις occurs in the same place of the corresponding line 65.

On the last line there is a schol. *ἥτις ἐστὶ θυμοβόρος λύπη τῆς φρενός*. But I believe that the line was a scholium itself, explaining *φροντίδ' ἀπληστον* as 'the dispiriting mind of grief': how otherwise can you account for *τὴν*? If this be so, we are left with an unmetrical conclusion, which may easily be restored to metre thus:

τότε δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν φροντίδ' ἀπληστον  
φαίνοντο ἄγαν Ἑλλῆς ἀμύνει.

The words were transposed in order to bring ἐκ θυσιῶν—ἀγανὰ φαίνοντο together. In reading φαίνοντο I follow Triclinius and cod. Flor.: ἀγανὰ φαίνοντο is like Theocr. ii. 10 ἀλλὰ *Ζελεῖνα*, φαῖνε καλόν: so now the reason is apparent why we find ἀγανὰ, not ἀγανῇ: it was not feminine but neuter plural.

Eur. *Cycl.* 76: read

ξανθὰν χαίταν <ἀγα>σείεις  
ἐγὼ δ' ὅ σός πρόπολος  
79 σὺν τᾷδε δοῦλος ἀλαίνων  
80 τράγου χλαίνα μελέα  
81 θητεύω τῷ μονοδέρκῃ  
σὺς χωρὶς φιλίας

The order in which these last 4 lines should come can hardly be determined, but I am certain that 79 and 81 are now put together as they were originally and that *Κύκλωπι* is to be ejected as a gloss. The MS. is *θητεύω Κύκλωπι τῷ μονοδέρκῃ δοῦλος ἀλαίνων σὺν τᾷδε τράγου χλαίνα μελέα*.—This is the simplest form of a delightful metre I hope soon to illustrate: the grammarians call it *ἐπιωνικόν*, and I call it 'The Poacher', because it goes to the tune of that excellent song 'As me and my companions Were setting of a snare'. In Greek it is much used by Pindar (as *Nem.* iv) and by Euripides, e.g. by the Chorus<sup>11</sup> in the *Phaethon* fr. 773. 23 μέλει δ' ἐν δένδρεσι λεπτὰν | ἀγῶν ἀρμονίαν: but through lapsing easily into glyconic it has almost eluded recognition; see how even the latest editions present the following passage, which I give in a corrected form: Eur. *Hel.* 1479

δὲ αἶρος εἶθε ποτανοὶ  
γενόμεθα λίβνες <ὡς> Badham  
οἰωνοὶ στοιχάδες ὄμβρον  
λιπούσαι χειμέριον  
νίσσονται πρεσβυτάτῃ (πρεσβυτάτου Paley)  
σύργῃ πειθόμεναι

MSS. and editors give us

οἰωνοὶ στολάδες  
ὄμβρον λιπούσαι χειμέριον

<sup>11</sup> Who must, from their office, be the ὦραι.

with a variant *στοχάδες*, and Aldus too has *στολάδες*: but metre requires *στοιχάδες*, which will explain itself to any one who knows the ancient commonplaces about cranes. So familiar were their *serried ranks* that an army ranged for battle is compared to them by Nonn. *D.* xiv. 329 seqq. and Stat. *Theb.* v. 7-17.—The antistrophe requires a slight transplacement:

1496 μόλοιτε ποθ' ἵππων οἶμα  
δι' αἰθέρος<sup>12</sup> ἰέμενοι,  
λαμπρῶν ἄστρων ὑπ' ἀέλλαισιν  
οἱ ναίειτ' οὐράνιοι,  
σωτήρες τῶς Ἑλένας

The MS. merely has the vocative transposed, *παῖδες Τυνδαρίδαι, λαμπρῶν ἄστρων ὑπ' ἀέλλαισιν οἱ ναίειτ' οὐράνιοι*.—The metre of 1496 is the *enhoplion*, which was specially appropriate to the Dioscuri; it lapses presently into the *epionicum*. The *enhoplion* can end with a short syllable as in οἶμα, but this is not admitted in the first half of the *epionicum*—unless Pind. *P.* x. 43 is to be considered an exception: there is one occurrence only that I know, *H.F.* 661

ἀ δυσγένεια δ' ἀπλοῦν ἄν  
εἶχεν ζωᾷς βιοτάν

and that of course can easily be set right by reading ἀπλᾶν ἄν | ζωᾷς εἶχεν βιοτάν.

*Hel.* 1150 seqq. is a grand example. The first 10 lines of the strophe, 1136-1145 are in metre demonstrably correct<sup>13</sup>, beginning thus:

ὅ τι θεὸς ἢ μὴ θεὸς ἢ τὸ μέσον  
τίς φήσ' ἐρευνήσας βροτῶν  
μακρότατον πέρας εὐρεῖν,  
ὅς τὰ θεῶν ἑσορᾷ

Now I will restore the antistrophe to metre too:

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps this should change places with μόλοιτε ποθ' for the sake of 'responson' to δι' αἶρος in 1479.

<sup>13</sup> But they have been misunderstood; the meaning is 'who, after making the furthest enquiry in the world, can profess to have discovered what is God . . . when he sees . . . τίς φησὶ' (Muggrave restored τίς for τί) is common in this use; *Trag. fr. adesp.* 351, *Euphron* (Ath. 343 b) III p. 321 Kock, *Vesp.* 1497, *Soph. Aj.* 1413, *Rhes.* 149-154, *I.T.* 1047 τί φατέ; τίς ὁμῶν φησὶν ἢ τίς οὐ θέλει <ν>, φθέγγασθε, ταῦτα; ('who volunteers?') as Muggrave had corrected it already. *P.V.* 519 τίς φήσκειν ἄν ἐξευρεῖν; *A.P.* vii. 79 Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ σοφά μόνος ἀνευρεῖν φημι, *Dio Chrys.* II. 282 R. ὁ μὲν γὰρ φησὶν . . . Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ἔτι γενναϊότερον αὐτὸς ἐξευρεῖν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ὅποια τυγχάνει οὐσα, μηδὲν διδάξαντος, καὶ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ σοφός.



ἄφρονες ὅσοι τὰς ἀρετὰς πολέμῳ  
λόγχασι τ' ἀλκαίον δορὸς  
κτᾶσθε, πόνους ἀμαθῶς θνατ.<sup>14</sup>  
ὦν καταπανόμενοι.

εἰ γὰρ ἄμλλα κρινεῖ νιν  
αἵματος, οὐποτ' ἔρις  
λείψει κατ' ἀνθρώπων πόλεις.

1157 Πριαμίδες ᾧ γὰς ἔλιπον θαλάμους,  
ἔξον διορθῶσαι λόγους  
σὺν ἔριν ὦ Ἑλένα.

"O fools all ye that seek to win your honours in the field of battle, by the weapons of armed war; a senseless way to compose the troubles of mankind! For if they are to be decided by bloody combat, strife will never cease among the towns of men"—that same through which the daughters of Priam have been torn from the bowers in their land, when thy quarrel, Helen, might have been arranged by word of mouth.

See now what the MSS. present us with: ἄφρονες ὅσοι τὰς ἀρετὰς πολέμῳ κτᾶσθε δορὸς τ' ἀλκαίον λόγχασι καταπανόμενοι πόνους θνατῶν ἀπαθῶς. Is it not evident that that is a simplification of the order? As I have restored them, the words are of course displaced from their most natural position; if it were not so, there would have been no occasion for this metre-murdering arrangement.—The only other alteration is Musgrave's ἀμαθῶς for ἀπαθῶς: μαθεῖν παθεῖν, μαθήματα παθήματα they commonly confuse, and give us δυσπαθῆ for δυσμαθῆ in *Ag.* 1254.—I have taken this passage as a quotation of some word of God introduced by 1149, which now appears as τὸ τῶν θεῶν ἔπος ἀλαθές ἦνρον. It seems to me we want τοῦτο or τόδε ἔπος<sup>15</sup>: and this would be rhythmical and give the sense that I require, θεῶν δὲ τόδ' ἔπος ἀλαθές ἦνρον 'but this utterance of God I have found true:—' Then follows the quotation, lapsing into their own remarks again by means of the relative in 1157, as the speech of Orestes does in *Eum.* 763.—Πριαμίδες ᾧ is the best I can make of αἱ Πριαμίδος γὰς in 1157, combining Rauchenstein's Πριαμίδες with Musgrave's Πριαμίδος ᾧ: the transposition of the relative for the sake of rhythm I had also made myself.

El. 443: read

Νηρῆδες δ' Εὐβοίδας ἄκρας λιποῦσαι<sup>16</sup>  
μόχθους ἀσπιστὰς ἀκμόνων

<sup>14</sup> A common division of the *enhoplion* metre, e.g. *Pind.* P. xii. 1, 2 and 4, *Eur. Med.* 634, *Soph. Trach.* 121.

<sup>15</sup> As νόμος δὲ in *Soph. Ant.* 613.

<sup>16</sup> The metre is an extension of Glyconic, as in the

Ἥφαιστου χρυσέων ἔφερον τευχῶν  
ἀνά τε Πήλιον ἀνά τε πρύμνας  
Ὅσσας ἱερὸς νάπας  
ματεῖνυσαι ἐνθα πατήρ

'the golden harness wrought upon Hephaestus' anvils,' the golden armour of Achilles (*I.A.* 1069 χρυσέων ὅπλων Ἥφαιστοπόνων, *Hee.* 108, *Hom.* Σ 475). The double genitive presents no difficulties to us, both rhythm and the position of the adjective connecting χρυσέων with τευχῶν: but it is exactly the kind of sentence one expects to be rearranged in copying. The rearrangement however is betrayed; for in writing

Ἥφαιστου χρυσέων ἀκμόνων  
μόχθους ἀσπιστὰς ἔφερον τευχῶν

the sapient critic has made Hephaestus work on golden anvils!

El. 1179 μυστὰρ δίγωνα σῶματ' ἐν  
χθονὶ <διγόνῳ> πλαγᾷ κείμενα  
= 1192 χερὸς ὑπ' ἐμᾶς, ἅποιον' ἐμῶν πημάτων  
ἀχρα, φόνια δ' ὠπαστας  
λέχε' ἀπὸ γὰς τὰς Ἑλλανίδος  
τίνα δ' ἔτεραν μόλω πόλιν; τίς ξένος

ἐν χθονὶ κείμενα πλαγᾷ χερὸς ὑπ' ἐμᾶς MS.  
For διγόνῳ πλαγᾷ compare δίγονος μασθλῆς.

Tro. 563 σφαγαὶ δ' ἀμφιβόμοι  
Φρυγῶν ἐν τε δεινίοις  
καράτομος νεανίδων  
ἐρημία στέφανον ἔφερῃν

iambic dimeters: καράτομος ἐρημία νεανίδων MS.—Their husbands, that is, were murdered in their beds.

I.A. 792 διὰ σὲ τὰν δολιχαῦχενος  
κύκνον—ἐτήτυμος εἰ φάτις.  
Διὸς ὅτ' ἡλλάχθη δέμας, ὥς  
ὄρνιθι πταμένῳ σ' ἔτεκεν Λήδα,  
εἴτ' ἐν δέλτοις Πιερίσιν

This is unexceptionable, metre, in the same glyconic rhythm as the rest that has preceded. The way it is simplified in the MS. is

διὰ σὲ τὰν κύκνον δολιχαῦχενος γόνον,  
εἰ δὲ φάτις ἐτυμός  
ὥς ἔτυχε Λήδα  
ὄρνιθ' ἵπταμένῳ,  
Διὸς ὅτ' ἡλλάχθη δέμας, εἴτ'  
ἐν δέλτοις Πιερίσιν

newly-published piece of Sappho ὥς [π]δ' ἀελίῳ | δύντος ἂ βροδοδάκτυλος σελάννα, *Bacchyl.* xvii., *Soph. O.C.* 669, *Eur. Hipp.* 528. For Hephaestus and the Nereids compare *Nonn. D.* 43. 399 seqq. Euripides probably had in his mind that passage of Hesiod (*fr.* 85 Goettling) about the μάχαιρα made for Peleus by Hephaestus, in which occurs the line ὥς τὴν μαστεύων ὅλος κατὰ Πήλιον αἰπύ: Mr. A. B. Cook I expect would admit this among his verbal reminiscences.

Compare *Hel.* 17-21.

*H.F.* 134 Ἑλλάς ὧ ξυμμάχους  
οἶους δλέασα τούσδ'  
οἶους ἀποστερήσῃ

οἶους οἶους δλέασα τούσδ' ἄ. MS.

*H.F.* 749 τίς θεοὺς θηγτὸς ὦν ἀνομία  
χραίνων

Heimsoeth for τίς ὁ θεοὺς ἀνομία κραίνων  
θηγτὸς ὦν (δ del. Paley)

*I.T.* 1107 = 1121: perhaps  
ἐμὲ βήσῃ δὲ πλάταις  
ρόθιοις αὐθι λιποῦσ' ἀέρι δ'  
= ἐς ἄμυλλαν χαρίτων  
ἀβροπλούτοιο χλιδᾶς τ' εἰς ἔριν

where χλιδᾶς (the golden head-tire, *Andr.* 147 schol.) for χαίτας was proposed by Marklond.—The MS. reading is ἐμὲ δ' αὐτοῦ λιποῦσα βήσῃ ρόθιοις πλάταις, and χαίτας ἀβροπλούτοιο.

In *Ion* 1079 ὄφεται ἐννύχιος ἄνπνος ὦν I think we should either read ἐννυχος or more probably ἐννύχιος ὄφεται transposed.

*Andr.* 889 κακὸν γ' ἔλεξας, δίσσ' ἐν' ἄνδρ' ἔχειν λέχη Grotius for ἄνδρ' ἑνα δίσσ' ἔχειν λέχη L, ἄνδρα δίσσ' E, the rest ἐν' ἄνδρα δίσσ'. In Astydamas p. 780 Nauck probably the right reading is μόλις δ' ἐν ἑκατὸν ἔστιν ἄνδρ' εὐρεῖν ἑνα, where the MSS. give ἔνεκα τῶν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἄνδρ' ἑνα with a marginal conjecture ἐν' ἄνδρα τούτων ἔστιν εὐρεῖν δυσχερές. *Eur. fr.* 411. 3 καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρ' εἰπὼν ἑνα appears in Stobaeus thus, καὶ πρὸς ἑνα εἶπous ποτε.

*Med.* 1244 and antistrophe: I suggest

- 1 μάταν μόχθος ἔρρει τέκνων
- 2 μάταν ἄρα γένος φίλιον ἔτεκες ὦ...
- 5 δειλαία τί σοι φρενῶν βαρὺς
- 6 χόλος προσπίπτει <τε> καὶ δυσμενὴς
- 7 φόνος ἀμείβεται;

- = 5 σᾶς γὰρ χρυσέας ἀπὸ γονᾶς
- 6 ἔβλασταν· θεοῦ πίνειν αἱμά τοι
- 7 φόβος ὑπ' ἀνέρων.
- 8 ἀλλά νυν, ὦ φάος διογενές, κάτειργε κατὰ-  
πανσον, ἐξέλ' οἴκων, Ἐρινὸν φονιὰν τά-  
λαιναν  
ὑπ' ἀλαστόρων.

θεοῦ δ' αἵματι πίνειν MS. among other errors.

*Ion fr.* 18 Εὐβοῖδα μὲν γῆν λεπτὸς Εὐρίπου κλύδων Βωιωτίας ἀκτῆς ἐχώρισεν ἐκτέμνων πρὸς Κρήτα πορθμόν is, it is true, from a satyric play; but this sounds to me the proper order,

πρὸς Κρήτα πορθμόν ἐκτέμνων Βωιωτίας  
ἐχώρισ' ἀκτῆς

“The narrow waters of the Euripus have parted Euboea from the Boeotian shore, so shaping it (ἐκτεμών) that it looks towards the Cretan sea”: i.e. the island of Euboea runs out in a S.E.S. direction, Jebb *Bentley*, p. 213. Cf. *Lucian* iii. 637. *Soph. Ant.* 836

καίτοι φθιμένα μέγ' ἀκοῦσαι  
τοῖς ἰσοθέοις ἔγκληρα λαχεῖν.

So A.—Schaefer corrected ἔγκληρα to σύγκληρα. The sense is quite sufficient: ‘She had looked for present pity,’ says Sir Richard Jebb, ‘they comfort her with the hope of posthumous fame.’ And she exclaims οἶμοι γελῶμαι ‘It is a mockery!’ But the lines are out of metre, for they are the conclusion of a short anapaestic period. I cannot doubt myself that it is merely a simple case of transposition and that we should re-arrange the words in Hermann’s way:

καίτοι φθιμένα τοῖς ἰσοθέοις  
σύγκληρα λαχεῖν μέγ' ἀκοῦσαι.

But L has another line, a paroemiac to complete the system, ζῶσαν καὶ ἔπειτα θανούσαν. Apart from its absence in A, a manuscript often right where L is wrong, consider the line upon its merits. Is it good writing after φθιμένα? Is καὶ ἔπειτα elegant? ζῶσαν τε καὶ θανούσαν certainly they say, as *O.C.* 390 θανόντα ζωντά τ', *El.* 985 ζῶσαν θανούσαν τ' *Ant.* 209 θανὼν καὶ ζῶν ὁμοίως, *Trach.* 1111 and *Trag. fr. adesp.* 852 καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανών, *Cho.* 1041 ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκώς, *Pind. I.* vii. 30 ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανών, *Zenodotus Trag.* (Nauck p. 831) σιγηλὸν ἔσχε ζῶν τε καὶ θανών βίον, *Alexis* 76. 1 καὶ ζῶντα καὶ τεθνηκότα, and where not? But if any one wished to translate into Greek verse ‘both in life and in death alike,’ would he feel that with ζῶσαν καὶ ἔπειτα θανούσαν he had written what was worthy of the hand of Sophocles? ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι. And if you adopt it, you have still to alter 836, for surely a paroemiac could not precede at so short an interval: yet μέγ' ἀκοῦσαι is the proper phrase; neither μέγα κάκουσαι (Seyffert) nor μέγα τὰκούσαι (Wecklein) is in accordance with Greek usage. Surely L’s concluding line was merely invented to complete the anapaestic system after the final paroemiac had been lost by transposition.

*Trach.* 841 and the antistrophe I would restore as follows:

ὦν αὖ' ἂ τλάμων ἄοκνος, μέγαν προσ-  
ορώσα δόμοισι βλάβαν νέων  
843 τῶνδ' αἰσσοῦσαν, τὰ μὲν οὐτὶ προσέβαλε  
τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἀλλόθρου

- 845 ξυναλλαγαῖσι γνώμας ὀλοαῖς μολόντ'  
ἣ που ὀλοά στένει  
= 852 ἔρρωγεν παγὰ δακρύων· κέχυται νόσος ὦ  
πόποι οἶον ἀναρσίων  
854 τοῦδ' ἀγάκλειτον σθένος οὐπὼ ἐπέμολε  
πάθος οἰκτίσαι  
ἰὼ κελαινὰ λόγχα προμάχον δορός,  
ἂ τότε θοῶν νύμφαν.

In 843 the MSS. give αἰσόντων γάμων: but γάμων is not recognised by the scholia and I suspect it was merely an explanation of τῶνδε, ΤΩΝΔΑΙCCOYCANTΩΝΓΔΜΩΝ which would very easily produce αἰσόντων γάμων. Nauck restored αἰσόντων. The MS. version of 845 is I think a certain case of transposition; they give τὰ δ' ἀπ' ἀλλόθρου γνώμας μολόντ' ὀλεθρίας ξυναλλαγαῖς—not συναλλαγαῖς, as their own tendency would be to write; if they had found συναλλαγαῖς it is improbable they would have changed it to the antique form in ξ. Here, in altering the order of the words, a synonym has been substituted for one of them, ὀλεθρίας<sup>17</sup> for ὀλοαῖς, I take it. As the counsels given her were ὀλοαῖ, so her lamentations now are ὀλοά: compare Aesch. *Agam.* 711 where Troy μεταμανθάνει ὕμνον πολυθήρηνον, has learnt to change her *hymeneaeus* to the *θήρηνος*, after long experience of sufferings well-fitted for the throne indeed! τὰμπροσθ' ἣ πολυθήρηνον αἰὼν ἀνατλάσα. The same word being repeated makes the point, but ὀλεθρίας would hardly make it, and now the rhythm has the right caesura ξυναλλαγαῖσι=ἰὼ κελαινά: in another chorus constructed out of similar rhythms, *Aj.* 596–636, where this phrase is frequent, the caesura comes always at that point.—In 854 the MSS. give οὐπὼ ἀγάκλειτον Ἡρακλέους ἐπέμολε, where the proper name is rightly taken for a gloss: then some substantive is missing, like σῶμα (Jebb), δέμας. or σθένος, of which the last sounds the most familiar (μέγα σθένος Ἡρακλῆος *Apollon.* i. 531, *Quint.* vi. 199). ἀγάκλειτον must, I think, come where I have placed it, for ἀγάκλειτον, ἀγακλέα is the invariable scansion. The opening of this line now, while echoing the opening of the first, suggests at the same time the Dorian dactylo-epitrite, appropriate to Herakles, e.g. *Pind. fr.* 29. 4 ἣ τὸ πάντολμον σθένος Ἡρακλέος.

Nauck's αὐτῇ (αὐτὰ) in 843 has never pleased me. For a copyist to write οὐτι for

<sup>17</sup> ὀλεθρίας is the prose word used in explanation; as in *Phoen.* 1530 οὐλόμεν' αἰκίσματα: schol. πρὸς τὰς ὀλεθρίας πληγὰς. Therefore *Aj.* 403 ὀλεθρίων αἰκίζει = εὐφρονες Ἀργείοις may well have been οὐλόμεν' αἰκίζει.

αὐτῇ would be strange, unless it were done as a deliberate alteration of the sense; but what moves me chiefly is the metre. It does not admit, as it appears to me, this long syllable of αὐτά: while with οὐτι the line is perfectly intelligible to the ear. Therefore I believe it is a case for interpretation, and a new one may be offered:—the τὰ μὲν which she refrained from are bitterness and anger, either reproaches levelled against her husband or revenge directed against her rival. It is that which is so remarkable in this gentle and large-minded woman: she does not behave in the way that Orestes in Eur. *Andr.* 890 thinks so natural for Hermione, EP. κατ' ἐγωγ' ἡμνῶμην. OP. μὼν εἰς γυναῖκ' ἔρραφας οἷα δὴ γυνή; EP. φόνον γ' ἐκείνη καὶ τέκνον νοθαγενεῖ: her only error was omitting to suspect the treachery of her adviser; ἡμαρτε χρηστὰ μωμένη. A harmless remedy was all she sought; her temper and motive have been clearly put before us by herself, 459 *sqq.*, 543–554 ending ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὀργαίνειν καλὸν γυναῖκα νοῦν ἔχουσιν· ἣ δ' ἔχω, φίλαι, λυτήριον λώφημα, τῇδ' ὑμῖν φράσω: this would be natural for her friends to mention; and thus οὐτι προσέβαλε would mean 'she was far from inflicting' anything of that sort.

*Antig.* 966: I would read

παρὰ δὲ κνανέων πελαγέων διδύμας ἀλὸς  
968 ἀκτῇ Βοσπορία. ἴν' ὁ Ὀρηκῶν <κλήζεται>  
970 Καλυμνησός, Ἄρης ἀρχιπόλις  
δισσοῖσι Φινείδαις

I do not insist that πελαγέων is right (suggesting the κνάειαι πέτραι), though in *Aj.* 702 we have Ἰκαρίων ὑπὲρ πελαγέων: but παρὰ ἀκτῇ Βοσπορία is, I think, the right construction. Hiatus after φ or α is admissible in Lyric as in Epic, at any rate in the case of proper names: *Pind. P.* v. 70, *N.* vi. 21, *I.* i. 16 and 61, Bergk on *O.* iii. 30.

Then I feel sure of ἴν' ὁ Ὀρηκῶν κλήζεται Καλυμνησός as a parenthesis: it combines κλήζεται, the excellent supplement of Prof. Jebb, with the suggestion of Gleditsch to read ἴνα in that place. This well-known use of the verb, meaning ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ Καλυμνησός καλούμενος, is common with a relative: with ἔνθα, *Hom. A.* 757, *Simonid. Ep.* 107. 3, *Pind. N.* ix. 40, *Xen. Oec.* 4. 6 (cf. *Cyr.* vi. 2. 11), *Hell.* v. 1. 11, *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 238, *Soph. Trach.* 638, 659, *O.T.* 1451; with ἴνα *Eur. Or.* 323 ἴνα μεσόμεθαοι λέγονται μυχοί. In the course of shifting, the words Ἄρης ἀρχιπόλις have been transposed; there is no reason for doubting the corresponding verse





τιν' Ἐννάλιος μομφὰν ἔχων 'some complaint or other,' 'possibly,' 'perchance,' for ἡ τιν', and in Aesch. *Cho.* 752 with Buttmann *Griech. Sprachl.* I. 142 εἰ λιμὸς ἢ δίψ' εἴ τις ἢ λυφουρία ἔχει 'or thirst, may be' (like ἦν τύχη, εἰ τύχοι, τυχόν, *si forte* Munro on Lucret. v. 720) for δίψη τις.<sup>19</sup> Exactly similar is the use of εἰ ποθι in *Aj.* 885 εἰ ποθι πλαζόμενον λεύσσω, and of εἰ ποθεν in *Philoct.* 1204 ξίφος εἰ ποθεν ἢ γένυν ἢ βελών τι προπέμψατε: whence it seems as if in Photius ἢ ποθεν: ἀμόθεν, οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 785 Kock) might be for εἰ ποθεν. It should be considered whether *Trö.* 705 ἴν' εἰ ποτε ἐκ σοῦ<sup>20</sup> γινόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πάλιν κατοικήσειαν may not be explained in the same way.

*Philoct.* 1153 might have been

ἀλλ' ἀνέδην—ὅδε χωρὶς ἐρύκεται  
 ἔτ' οὐ φοβητὸς ὑμῖν—  
 ἔρπετε

or ἔθ' ὑμῖν<sup>21</sup> οὐ φοβητὸς, since ἔτ' οὐ for οὐκέτι is admitted elsewhere; cp. 1217, *O.T.* 24, *Trach.* 161, Callim. *h. Del.* 44, *Apoll. Rhod.* ii. 28:—supposing that οὐκέτι φοβητὸς ὑμῖν cannot stand for an equivalent of 831 ἔχεις τὸν Ἡράκλειον: there are certainly cases where it could. I find it hard to believe ἐρύκεται corrupt: and in Prof. Jebb's ingenious reading ὁ δὲ χάρος ἄρ' οὐκέτι φοβητὸς, οὐκέθ' ὑμῖν would not δὲ ἄρα mean 'whereas in fact,' 'whereas the truth is'? Porson conjectured ὅδε χάρος ἐρύκεται, I would read χωρὶς ἐρύκεται (*Theoc.* vii. 127 τὰ μὴ καλὰ<sup>22</sup> νοσφίν ἐρύκοι) 'this man here (with a gesture to them) is restrained apart, no longer to be feared by you,' that is 'I cannot reach or hurt you any more'.

An elegant example from Comedy to finish up with; Eubulus 119 in *Ath.* 8b upon a parasite:

5 ὃν φασὶ ποτε κληθέντ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πρὸς  
 τινος  
 εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων ὀηνίκα ἂν  
 εἴκοσι ποδῶν μετροῦντι τὸ στοιχεῖον ἢ  
 ἦκειν, ἔωθεν αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἡλίου  
 μετρεῖν ἀνέχοντος, μακροτέρας δ' οὐσῆς ἔτι  
 πλεῖν ἢ δυοῖν ποδοῖν παρέραια τῆς σκίας'  
 11 ἔπειτα μικρὸν ὀψιαιτέρον φάναί  
 δι' ἀσχολίαν ἦκειν, παρόνθ' ἄμ' ἡμέρα.

<sup>19</sup> In Aesch. *Ag.* 1461 read εἰ τις ἦν ποτ' for ἥ τις ἦν τὰτ'. In *Ag.* 55 εἰ τις Ἀπόλλων would be easier to support than the MS. ἡ τις.

<sup>20</sup> *v.l.* εἰ οὐ: these are confounded in *Cho.* 990.

<sup>21</sup> ἦμιν or ἡμῖν is required by metre in *El.* 495 (where I see now that in L ἡμῖν has been made from ἦμιν), and ἡμῖν or ὡμῖν in *Trach.* 640.

<sup>22</sup> In *Eumen.* 1008 τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν χώρα κατέχειν the choice lies between χώρα (Paley) and χωρὶς (Linwood).

vv. 5 and 6 I give in Porson's reading: 11 and 12 are my theme, now in the correct arrangement: 'he came while the shadow was still more than a couple of feet too long, and then remarked that he had arrived a little late because he was so busy,—when he he had come with daylight!' The MSS. give

ἔπειτα φάναί μικρὸν ὀψιαιτέρον  
 δι' ἀσχολίαν παρόνθ' ἦκειν ἄμ' ἡμέρα.

where Hermann corrected the last line: the corruptor of it did not even see the point. At the last moment I find the transposition here suggested by W. Dindorf in the *Thesaurus s.v. φημί* p. 741 n: syllaba priore vitiose producta (ut in codicibus interdum φάναί scriptum) in *fr.* Eubuli . . . . ., quod vel inserto δέ, ἔπειτα δὲ φάναί, vel φάναί post ὀψιαιτέρον transposito corrigi potest'. Yes, φάναί interdum in codicibus of course, as ἐμπιμπρᾶναι, δεικνύναι, καθιστᾶναι, τεθνᾶναι, φθᾶσαι, ἐρῶσαι, διαδικᾶσαι, ἰχθῦσι, φινγᾶσαι, λιβᾶσαι, ἀνδρᾶσαι etc. In *Theognis* 181 τεθνᾶναι, φίλε Κύρνε, inferior MSS. have τεθνᾶναι or τεθνᾶναι: but the only place where that now remains in any classical text is Aesch. *Ag.* 544 χαίρω τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς. May I ask those who still suppose it to be genuine not only to read Hermann's note (p. 412) upon the form τεθνᾶναι but also to enquire into the uses of ἀντιλέγειν and ἀντιλογεῖν in classical Greek?

I have not investigated Prose; but it needs only a glance at the readings of the Orators to show that variations of order are extremely common; and they cannot be without a motive. Here is an absurd one in Lucian *de dea Syria* 21, iii. p. 468 καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ πόλει τὴν Ἥρην τουτέων αἰτήν ἐθέλουσαν γενέσθαι Κομβάβιον ἐσθλὸν μὲν ὄντα λαθέειν μηδαμὰ, στρατονίκην δὲ τίσασθαι: read αἰτήν γενέσθαι, ἐθέλουσαν and make sense.

It follows from the nature of the language that the same condition must produce the same result in Latin. I remember some years ago Prof. Mayor pointing out to me in his edition of Juvencus a number of variants which by altering the order of the words made havoc of the metre; when I observed that there too the reason was the same. But I have only one small emendation to propose at present. It is in a fragment of Varro, 148 Buecheler (p. 177 in his edition of Petronius), twice quoted by Nonius; on p. 549 thus, *nam ut argutis et lutea quae non sunt et quae sunt lutea esse videntur, sic insani sani et furiosi videntur esse insani*: on p. 35 without *esse* before

*videntur* and with *arguatis et uterque* instead of *et lutea*. Buecheler prints this as prose, omitting the *et* after *arguatis*. But I believe *et* to be genuine, only it is misplaced now because *lutea* has been transposed. The second clause, beginning with *sic*, is perfect trochaic metre as it stands, the same as used by Varro in fragments 54, 55, 56,

and 75,<sup>23</sup> and a simple transposition will restore the whole ;

*nám ut arguatis ét quae non sunt lútea et quae sánt videntur,*  
*sic insani sáni et furiosi videntur esse insani.*  
W. HEADLAM.

<sup>23</sup> And 228 ! *phrḡgio qui pulcrnar poterat pingere, soliar deungebat.*

## UNCONSCIOUS ITERATIONS.

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CLASSICAL LITERATURE.)

(Continued from p. 158.)

### II.

B. I come now to the second of the two principles enunciated in my previous paper : *an expression once used haunts the memory and tends to be used again*. We might *prima facie* suppose that the expressions thus repeated would be those of a surprising or forcible character. And such is occasionally the case. Tennyson, for instance, uses the striking adjective 'Æonian' (= αἰώνιος) twice in his *In Memoriam* :

xxxv. 10 'The sound of streams that swift  
or slow

Draw down Æonian hills, and sow  
The dust of continents to be.'

xcv. 41 'Æonian music measuring out  
The steps of Time—the shocks of  
Chance.'

And in the classical poets we find a few examples of the same sort : *e.g.*

Soph. *Ant.* 804 τὸν παγκοίτην δὲ ὄρω  
θάλαμον

τήνδ' Ἀντιγόνην ἀνέτουνσαν.

ib. 808 ἀλλά μ' ὁ παγκοίτασ' <sup>1</sup>

"Αἶδας ζῶσαν ἄγει κ.τ.λ.

Eur. *Tro.* 1136 φόβον τ' Ἀχαιῶν, χαλκόνω-  
τον ἀσπίδα

1193 ἐν ᾗ ταφῇσει χαλκόνωτον  
ἴσαν.

But in writers of merit the repetition of an unusual word is rare; and a moment's reflection will show why. A bold and vigorous phrase no doubt impresses the mind more than a weak or trivial one and has so far a better chance of persisting. But its very boldness and vigour raise it to the level of conscious thought; it is too intense to remain subconscious. Hence it attracts the attention of the author who excises it at once as

<sup>1</sup> Blaydes' conjecture *πάγκωτος* is quite arbitrary.

an expression that has been used already. On the other hand the ghost of the commonplace phrase may glide in unnoticed and intrude upon the company of neighbouring sentences.

(a) In comparatively careless writing this kind of iteration is very common. Almost any newspaper would furnish one or more examples : *e.g.* a critique <sup>2</sup> on a recent French play says—

'Not only has the work been **well** staged with suitable scenery, but M. Francis Thomé has written appropriate incidental music, which was **well** rendered by the **well-known** orchestra which M. Edouard Colonne directs. The cast, which included the names of such **well-known** Odéon artistes as MM.' etc.—

and that though the preceding paragraph had mentioned 'the Pirene**well**, so **well known** in mythology' ! A classical instance is Aristotle's use of παιδαριώδης. In *pol.* 2. 9. 1270 b 26, speaking of the ephorality at Sparta, he says : ἀλλ' αἰρετὴν ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι ταύτην ἐξ ἀπάντων μὲν, μὴ τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον ὅν νῦν παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν. A few lines later, in 1271 a 9, he refers thus to the Spartan gerontes : ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἣν ποιῶνται τῶν γερόντων, κατὰ τε τὴν κρίσιν ἐστὶ παιδαριώδης, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν ἀξιοθροσόμενον τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει. But in the minutely finished master-pieces of an Isocrates repetitions of this sort are more unexpected. In the *Panegyricus* we have 24 ἔχοντες...ἔχοντες, 81 ἀξιούντες...ἀξιούντες. Dr. Sandys, commenting on the latter passage, cites *Phil.* 132 προσαγορευομένων...προσαγορευομένων; he also quotes with approval Pascal's dictum (*Pensées* i. 10)—

<sup>2</sup> *The Standard*, Jan. 31, 1902.



'Quand dans un discours on trouve des mots répétés, et qu'essayant de les corriger, on les trouve si propres qu'on gâterait le discours, il les faut laisser.' It may be doubted, however, whether the Greek rhetorician, to whom style was of paramount importance, would have agreed with the French moralist in thus sacrificing it to substance; his ingenuity would probably have discovered some method of preserving both matter and manner. We shall hardly be mistaken if we regard these Isocratean examples as cases of subconscious persistence. So too with other orators, e.g. Dem. 45. 4 χρόνου δὲ γιγνομένου, καὶ τῆς μὲν γραφῆς ἐκκρονομένης, δικῶν δὲ οὐκ οὐσῶν, γίγνονται παῖδες ἐκ τούτου τῇ μητρὶ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (εἰρήσεται γὰρ ἅπαντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ) πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ φιλάνθρωποι λόγοι παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐγίγνοντο κ.τ.λ. or 46. 2-3 διατιθεμένον...διέθετο...διαθέμενον.

No less frequent are these insignificant, and yet deeply significant, echoes in Greek drama. Professor Jebb in his notes on Sophocles has more than one collection of them (*Ant.* 76, *O.C.* 554, *alibi*). Care must of course be exercised in drawing up such lists to exclude from them all words repeated with a conscious purpose, e.g. for the sake of emphasis as in—

Soph. *O.C.* 562 :

ὅς οἱ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπαυδένθην ξένος,  
ὥσπερ σύ, ὥς εἰς πλείστ' ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ξένης  
ἤβλησα κινδυνεύματ' ἐν τῷ μὲν κάρᾳ  
ὥστε ξένον γ' ἂν οὐδέν' ὄνθ', ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν,  
ὑπεκτραποίμην μὴ οὐ συνεκώξειν—

Eur. *Alc.* 701 :

ΦΕ. κατ' ὀνειδίζεις φίλοις  
τοῖς μὴ θέλουσι δρᾶν τὰδ' αὐτὸς ὦν  
κακός :  
σίγα· νόμιζε δ', εἰ σὺ τὴν σαντοῦ φιλεῖς  
ψυχὴν, φιλεῖν ἅπαντας· εἰ δ' ἡμᾶς κακῶς  
ἐρεῖς, ἀκούσει πολλὰ κοῦ ψευδῆ κακά.

1606 κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς χθόνιος, αἱ δὲ παρθένοι  
ρίγησαν ὡς ἤκουσαν· εἰς δὲ γούνατα  
πατρὸς πεσούσαι κλαῖον, οὐδ' ἀνίσταν  
στέρνων ἀραγμοὺς οὐδὲ παμμήκεις γό-  
ους.  
ὁ δ' ὡς ἀκούει φθόγγον ἐξαίφνης  
πικρόν,  
πτύξας ἐπ' αὐταῖς χεῖρας εἶπεν· κ.τ.λ.

The words κλαῖον...γούους reappear as ἔκλαιον...γούων; the words φθόγγον ἐξαίφνης, as φθέγμα...ἐξαίφνης with a further reverberation in yet another ἐξαίφνης. Dindorf's conjecture εὐθέως ignores the possibility of a

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ΧΟ. πλείω λέλεκται νῦν τε καὶ τὰ πρὶν κακά·  
παῦσαι δέ, πρέσβν, παῖδα σὺν κακορρο-  
θῶν.—

or by way of a refrain as in Soph. *Ant.* 614, 625, where a strophe and an antistrophe end with the same phrase ἐκτὸς ἄρας. On the other hand, a typical example of subconscious iteration is Soph. *O.C.* 1451 ματῶν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀξίωμα δαιμόνων ἔχω φράσαι followed by 1459 πάτερ, τί δ' ἐστὶ τὰ ξίωμ' ἐφ' ᾧ καλεῖς; The former passage occurs in the middle of a choric strophe; the latter is an iambic line addressed by Antigone to Oedipus. The connection lay in the mind of Sophocles, who wrote the passage continuously, not in any dramatic exigency or propriety; and, in the absence of a dramatic motive, the iteration was presumably unintentional. Similarly, in an unbroken piece of lyrics—

Soph. *Ant.* :

955 ζεύχθη δ' ὀξύχολος παῖς ὁ Δρύαντος,  
'Ηδωνῶν βασιλεύς, κερτομίοις ὄργ-  
αῖς,  
ἐκ Διονύσου πετρώδει κατάφαρκτος ἐν  
δεσμῷ.  
οὕτω τὰς μανίας δεινὸν ἀποστάζει  
ἀνθρῶν τε μένος. κείνος ἐπέγνων μανίας  
ψάνων τὸν θεὸν ἐν κερτομίοις γλώσσ-  
αῖς.—

or iambs—

id. *ibid.* :

73 φίλη μετ' αὐτοῦ κείσομαι, φίλου μετα,  
ὅσια πανουργήσασ'· ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος  
ὄν δει μ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε.  
ἐκεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ κείσομαι· σοὶ δ' εἰ δοκεῖ,  
κ.τ.λ.

Persistence on a more extensive scale is shown by a passage of the *Oedipus Coloneus* :—

1620 τοιαῦτ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἀμφικείμενοι  
λύδην ἔκλαιον πάντες. ὡς δὲ πρὸς  
τέλος  
γούων ἀφίκοντ' οὐδ' ἔτ' ὠρώρει βοή,  
ἦν μὲν σιωπῇ, φθέγμα δ' ἐξαίφνης  
τινός  
θούξεν αὐτόν, ὥστε πάντας ὀρθίας  
στήσαι φόβῳ δέσαντας ἐξαίφνης  
τρίχας.

verbal echo. And yet the passage is full of echoes : besides those that I have printed in spaced type 1607 ὡς ἤκουσαν = 1610 ὡς ἀκούει, cp. *ibid.* 551 πολλῶν ἀκούων ἐν τε τῷ πάρος χρόνῳ = 554 ἐν ταῖσδ' ἀκούων μᾶλλον

ἐξεπίσταμαι. Professor Jebb's lists are confined to Sophocles; but the same thing is found elsewhere. Take, for example, a few extracts from Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. In 566 ff.—

κήρυσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαβοῦ,  
εἴτ' οὖν < > διάτορος Τυρσηνικῇ  
σάλπιγγ' βροτείον πνεύματος πληροῦ μένη  
ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαίνεται στρατῷ.  
πληροῦ μένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου  
κ.τ.λ.—

στρατὸν is maintained by στρατῷ, πληρουμένη  
by πληρουμένου. In 661 and 666 there is  
another pair of echoes—

661 ἴσασεν ἔργος, οἷσι μὴ βλάβη θεός.  
666 ἀλλ' οἷον ἔργος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός.

Athena's speech in 681 ff. abounds in similar repetitions: thus 683 τὸ λοιπὸν = 708 τὸ λοιπόν, 684 τοῦτο βουλευτήριον = 704 τοῦτο βουλευτήριον, 685 πάγον δ' Ἄρειον = 690 πάγος τ' Ἄρειος, 690 f. σέβας | ἀστῶν = 697 ἀστοῖς...σέβειν = 700 σέβας + 708 ἀστοῖσιν. Five lines from the middle of the speech are particularly noticeable:—

697 ἀστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλευῶ σέβειν,  
καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω  
βαλεῖν.  
τίς γάρ, δεδοικῶς μηδέν, ἔνδικος  
βροτῶν;  
τοιόνδε τοι ταρβούντες ἐνδίκως σέβας,  
ἔρμᾴ τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον  
κ.τ.λ.

If search were made in the plays of Euripides, doubtless similar iterations would be forthcoming, e.g.

Eur. *Trö.*:

769 ἀλλ' ἄγετε, φέρετε, ῥίπτετ', εἰ ῥίπτειν  
δοκεῖ  
δαίνυσθε τοῦδε σάρκας. ἔκ τε γὰρ θεῶν  
διολλύμεσθα, παιδί τ' οὐ δυναίμεθ' ἂν  
θάνατον ἀρῆξαι. κρύπτειτ' ἄθλιον δέμας  
καὶ ῥίπτετ' ἐς ναῦν.

I shall have occasion to quote other examples later.

Again I have not been at pains to collect Latin parallels: but cp.—

Verg. *aen.* 7.:

632 *tegmina tuta cavant caputū flectunt-  
que etc.*

742 *tegmina quis caputū raptus de subere  
cortex.*

or Lucan 6:

750 *protinus astrictus caluit cruor.*  
761 *ora astricta sonant.*  
798 *constrictae plausere manus.*—

or *Pervig. Ven.*:

4 *et nemus comam resoluit de maritis  
imbribus.*  
11 *fecit undantem Dionen de maritis<sup>1</sup> im-  
bribus.*  
26 *unico marita uoto non rubebit soluere.*  
61 *in sinum maritus imber fluxit almae  
coniugis.*

Some of the repetitions cited by A. Lünburg *de Ovidio sui imitatore*, Jena 1888, and regarded by him as due to a peculiar 'cupiditas sui imitandi' on Ovid's part can be explained as echoes of this kind, though the majority of them should be referred to recurrence of ideas (*A*: see *C.R.* xvi. 146 ff.) rather than to persistence of expression (*B*).

(b) It sometimes happens that the word thus repeated reappears with an altered force. The image of the original expression hovers awhile on the borderland of consciousness and assumes a different aspect in the dim half-light. If it is susceptible of another usage, that usage is apt to find its way into the context. A newspaper report<sup>2</sup> of a recent Oxford-and-Cambridge football match contained the following sentence:—'It was, perhaps, as appropriate as could be that the challenge cup newly presented by Mr. Crabbie senior to be held by the University winning each year should on the first occasion of its being contested have been secured for the side of which his son is captain by the individual efforts of one of the best three-quarter backs who has represented the Senior University during the past decade, in the person of Mr. J. E. Crabbie.' The word 'senior' accidentally used before the word 'University' in the earlier part of the sentence turns up again with an analogous, but not identical, meaning in the later expression 'Senior University': perhaps too the combination 'presented...Crabbie' is repeated in the words 'represented...Crabbie.'<sup>3</sup> Similar instances are fairly common in classical literature. In *Od.* 18.

<sup>1</sup> Bücheler accepts Rivinus' *cj. marinis*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Standard*, Dec. 12, 1901.

<sup>3</sup> I do not of course deny that a word may be used twice with a different meaning, even in a short passage, and yet involve no such subconscious (still less any conscious) persistence. The *St. James's Gazette*, March 13, 1902, says of the vest of King Charles I.—'After the execution it came into the hands of Dr. Hobbs, the King's physician, who attended him on the scaffold, and from him it passed into the possession of Susannah Hobbs, who married Temple Stanger, of Rawlings, Oxfordshire. In the autumn of 1898 this "sky-blue vest" was bought by the late Mr. Brocklehurst for 200 guineas. Now it is offered for sale by order of his executors.'

Not  
with  
Trac  
vū δ  
was  
Jebb  
vū δ  
'now  
recur  
slight

89 the poet says of Odysseus and Iros—τὼ δ' ἄμφω χεῖρας ἀνέσχον, i.e. 'they both put up their hands' (in the pugilistic sense of the term). A few lines later, in describing the boxing-match, he says—95 δὴ τότε ἀνασχομένω ὃ μὲν ἤλασε κ.τ.λ., where obviously ἀνασχομένω is repeated in the same sense. But five lines after that the suitors, vastly amused at the overthrow of Iros, 100 χεῖρας ἀνασχομένοι γέλω ἔκτανον. What have we here but a word-image playing tricks with the meaning? Again, in *Od.* 21. 46 κορώνης denotes the hook or handle on the outside of a door and *ib.* 51 σανίδος probably means a shelf or dais of some sort: but *ib.* 137 f. σανίδεσσιν is a pair of folding-doors and κορώνη a curved bow-tip. That the latter passage shadows the former appears also from 44 ἐξέσεν = 137 ἐξέστης and 46 αὐτίκ' = 138 αὐτοῦ. This may be capped by a couple of lines from Parmenides. The philosopher tells us how he was borne along in his chariot to the portals of the Goddess, and employs curiously similar expressions to describe the chariot and the portals: *fr.* 1 Diels, 6 ἄξων δ' ἐν χοίτησιν <ἴει> σύριγγος αὐτὴν = 19 ἄξονας ἐν σύριγξιν ἁμοιβαδὸν εἰλίξασαι. Here the shift of meaning affects two words and we pass from 'the axle in the nave sounded like a pipe' (of the chariot) to 'turning their two pins of bronze in the sockets' (of the portals). The phrase once used seems to have tacitly invited the writer to explore its possibilities. More often the distortion of the image is confined to a single word. The rare verb σφαραγεῖντο, for example, has two distinct shades of meaning in *Od.* 9. 390 σφαραγεῖντο δέ οἱ πυρὶ ρίξαι and *ib.* 440 οἴθιστα γὰρ σφαραγεῖντο. In Aesch. *Eum.* 465-467 the word ἐπαίτιος is found twice in the same metrical position, first in the sense of 'responsible for,' then in the slightly different sense of 'the guilty parties':

καὶ τῶνδε κοινῇ Λοξίας ἐπαίτιος,  
ἀλλ' ἂν προφώνων ἀντίκειντρα καρδίᾳ,  
εἰ μὴ τι τῶνδ' ἔρξαμι τοὺς ἐπαίτιους.

Note also that τῶνδε in 465 is constructed with ἐπαίτιος, but in 467 is not. In Soph. *Trach.* 88-90 two iambic lines begin with νῦν δ'...: but νῦν in the first means 'as it was'; in the second, 'now.' Professor Jebb *ad loc.* cites Soph. *El.* 1334 f., where νῦν δ' = 'as it was' is again followed by νῦν = 'now.' In Eur. *Tro.* 777-780 there is a recurrence of the verb μεθίημι, again with a slight change of meaning:

ἄγε, παῖ, φίλιον πρόσπνυγμα μεθεῖς  
μητρὸς μογερᾶς βαῖνε πατρῶν  
πύργων ἐπ' ἄκρας στεφάνας, ὅθι σοι  
πνεῦμα μεθεῖναι ψήφος ἐκράνθη.

Contrast Aristophanes' intentional repetition (perhaps a caricature of this or some similar Euripidean passage):

*Ran.* 130 HP. ἀναβᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον τὸν ὑψηλόν

ΔΙ. τί δρῶ;  
HP. ἀφιεμένην τὴν λαμπάδ' ἐντέθεν  
θεῶ,  
κάπειτ' ἐπειδὰν φῶσιν οἱ θεοί.  
μενοὶ  
εἶναι, τόθ' εἶναι καὶ σὺ  
σαντόν.

ΔΙ. ποῖ;  
HP. κάτω.

In Eur. *Tro.* 1078 οὐράνιον, 'in heaven,' describes the throne of Zeus; in 1088 οὐράνια, 'high-towering,' is applied to Cyclopean masonry. An interesting example occurs in Dem. *Aristocrat.* 100 ff., where Demosthenes first characterises a certain plea as εὐήθη μὲν, οἶμαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναιδὴ λόγον, and then, a few lines further on, observes: οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἔχει τιν' ὅμως ἢ ἀναιδέει αὐτὴν λόγον. τοῦτο γάρ τιν' οὐδ' οὗτος ἐνίσταται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ λόγος. The word λόγος in its original combination with ἀναιδὴ means 'argument' in its subsequent combination with ἀναιδεια 'reasonableness.' In the next clause it harks back again to the meaning 'argument': and two lines later the orator actually uses the same word in yet another sense—ἵνα δ' ὡς διὰ βραχυτάτου λόγον δηλὸν ὃ βούλομαι ποιήσω, κ.τ.λ. Isocrates *paneg.* 55-63 has ἀνελίσθαι, ἀνελόμενοι, ἀνελόντας in three distinct senses:

55 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ Καδείᾳ τελευτήσαντας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἀνελίσθαι (= to recover the bodies), τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀξίων βοηθεῖν ταῖς κοιναῖς τύχαις καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀποθνήσκοντας ἀτάφους γιγνομένους μηδὲ παλαιοὺς ἔθους καὶ πατριὸν νόμον καταλυόμενον, κ.τ.λ.

58 ἀνελόμενοι (= having undertaken) γὰρ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν τελευτησάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους πρὸς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι θάψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς προσήκουσι, κ.τ.λ.

63 εἰ δὲ δέ τις χάριτας καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικείας ἀνελόντας (= omitting) ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀκρι-  
s 2

βέστατον τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν, οὐ δὴ πού  
πάτριόν ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.

All three passages occur on an open page of the Teubner text and tend to support my point, viz. that the form of a phrase may persist though its meaning changes.

A well-marked group of cases is that in which a word used literally reappears as a metaphor. For instance, in Aesch. *septem* 353 ff. the very rare verb *λίπτομαι* means first 'I am hungry,' and then, 'I am eager for':—

- 353 καὶ κενὸς κενὸν καλεῖ,  
ξύννομον θέλων ἔχειν,  
οὔτε μείον οὔτ' ἴσον λελιμμένοι.  
380 Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος  
μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὡς δράκων βοᾷ.

This is hardly to be explained as a fortuitous recurrence; for, apart from these two passages, the verb is not found again till post-classical times. In Eur. *Tro.* 809 f.—

- 1300 πτέρυγι δὲ καπνὸς ὥς τις οὐ-  
ρανία πεσοῦσα δορὶ καταφθίνει  
γαῖα.

It will probably be granted that the second of these two extracts contains a reminiscence of the first. But the noteworthy point is that *πτέρυγι...καπνὸς* means one thing, *καπνῷ πτέρυγι* quite another. The first passage is usually rendered: 'and even as a puff of smoke before a *fan* (*lit.* a wing), so does the land vanish before the spear, having fallen from heaven (*lit.* heaven-high, cp. 519 οὐράνια βρέμοντα).'<sup>1</sup> The second passage certainly means: 'and the dust, like smoke, with its *wing* spread aloft' etc. In short, *πτέρυγι* is first literal and then metaphorical.

It is tempting to stretch this principle further and to make it cover one of the peculiarities of the Platonic style. Here and there Plato puts side by side a technical and a non-technical usage of such words as *εἶδος*, *ὄντα*, *φύσις*. For example, in *Tim.* 35A, where he is describing the constituent elements of soul, he tells us that it is compounded of Same (*ταυτόν*) and of Other (*θάτερον*) through the mediation of Essence

<sup>1</sup> With Nauck's reading *οὐρανία* we must translate: 'and even as a puff of smoke beneath the wings of the wind, so does' etc. But is *πτέρυγι...οὐρανία* a possible expression for 'the wings of the wind'? I doubt it.

Σιμόντι δ' ἐπ' εὐρείτα πλάταν  
ἔσχασε ποντοπόρον καὶ ναῦδες ἄν' ἡ ψατο  
πρυμνάν,—

the verb *ἀνάπτομαι* is used literally of Herakles who, when he reached Troy, 'bound the hawsers from the sterns of his ships.' But later in the same chorus, where Eros is invoked,—

- 843 ὥς τότε μὲν μεγάλως  
Τροίαν ἐπύργωσας, θεοῖσιν  
κῆδος ἀναψάμενος—

the same word has a metaphorical meaning: 'in that thou didst *bind* her to the gods with thy bond' (a reference to the fate of Gany-medes, son of Laomedon). It is not impossible that the expression *Τροίαν ἐπύργωσας* represents a similar *thought-shadow*. The 'building of Troy's towers' is a mere metaphor in 844, but in 812 the poet has alluded to the building of the literal towers of Troy (*κανόνων...τυκίσματα Φοίβου*). I may be allowed to quote one more example from the same play:

- 1318 τὰν φόνιον ἔχετε φλόγα δορός τε  
λόγχαν.  
τάχ' ἐς φίλαν γὰν πεσεῖσθ' ἀνώνυ-  
μοι.  
κόνις δ' ἴσα καπνῷ πτέρυγι πρὸς  
αἰθέρα  
κ.τ.λ.

(*οὐσία*). Yet, in the act of enumerating these three terms with their highly specialised meanings, he does not scruple to use one of them—*οὐσία*—in the much more general sense of 'substance':—*τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀεικατὰ ταῦτα ἐχούσης οὐσίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνομένης μεριστῆς τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐν μέσῳ ξυνεκράσατο οὐσίας εἶδος, τῆς τε ταυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ τῆς θατέρου, κ.τ.λ.* The juxtaposition is over-bold<sup>2</sup>; and, if we could assume that it was due to an unconscious iteration,<sup>3</sup> we should acquit Plato of a wilful stylistic perversity. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that a technical term was suggested by the casual use of a non-technical word is clearly untenable; and, if we suppose that the process was the converse of this and that the non-technical word was the iteration of the technical term, we have to make the further supposition that Plato wrote his sentence backwards. In view of the story told by Dion. Hal. *de comp. verb.* 25 and Diog. Laert. 3. 37 about the opening words of the *Republic*, this last guess is not im-

<sup>2</sup> In fact Dr. Jackson suggested that for the first *οὐσίας* we should read *φύσεως*.

<sup>3</sup> Plato's proneness to iteration has been illustrated by Schanz *Nov. comm. Plat.* p. 10 f.



possible. Still, it is mere guesswork, and a better explanation is ready to hand. Plato, as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> constantly used non-technical terms with technical precision: and here we find him using technicalities in a non-technical way. May not this feature of his Dialogues have been a deliberate attempt to portray the laxity of ordinary conversation? Even in the lectures of Aristotle, the great terminologist, we may note an occasional lapse: thus in *pol.* 2. 6. 1264 b24, 27, 28 the word *πολιτεία* is used in its common acceptation twice and once in the sense of 'Plato's Republic.' So, *ib.* 2. 8. 1268a 23 *μὴ μετέχοντας δὲ τῆς πολιτείας πῶς οἶόν τε φιλικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν*; as contrasted with *ib.* 2. 8. 1268a 27 *εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔσται, τί δαί τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ κυρίως εἶναι τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως*; The first *μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας* means 'to have a share in the government'; the second, 'to be members of the state'—a very different conception. A sentence from the *metaphysics* is worth quoting in this connexion: *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 27 *εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ τοὺς παμπάλαιους καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως (generation) καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας οὕτως οἰόνται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν* 'Ωκεανὸν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθὴν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως (the world of becoming) *πατέρας κ.τ.λ.*

As before, I add a few Latin examples. In the first satire of Persius two lines end with the name 'Atti'; but the one (1. 50) refers to Attius Labeo the epic writer, the other (1. 76) to Attius the dramatist. Two more lines of the same poem end with 'Attis' (1. 93, 105). In the third satire the word 'canicula' occurs twice, meaning 'the dog-star' in 3. 5, but 'the worst throw with the knuckle-bones' in 3. 49. The second satire has the verb 'inpello' thrice, each time with a different force: 2. 13 *inpello*, 'I press hard upon, I tread on the heels of,' 2. 21 *inpellere*, 'to move, to make an impression on,' 2. 59 *inipulit*, 'it has driven out.'

(c) A third variety of subconscious persistence is that in which part only of the original expression reappears. The *Standard* for Apr. 28, 1902, observes:—

'The Opposition have decided on this course of action, and they must be prepared for the consequences. An example of their temper is to be found in the Resolutions prepared for the Annual Conference of the National Liberal Federation at Bristol next month.'

Similarly Propertius 2. 1. 40 f. 'angusto

pectore...versu' is followed almost immediately (*ib.* 45) by 'angusto versantes proelia lecto. More often the after-image is less extensive. In Professor Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* p. 112 we read: 'Xenophanes...was not, strictly speaking, a philosopher, but simply a satirist who had sat, more or less, at the feet of Anaximander.' The thirty-first stanza of the *Rubáiyát* of Omar Khayyám, as originally translated by FitzGerald, ran—

'Up from Earth's Centre through the Seventh Gate

I rose, and on the Throne of Saturn sate,

And many Knots unravel'd by the Road;  
But not the Knot of Human Death and Fate.'

The last line was subsequently amended: 'But not the Master-knot of Human Fate.'

This lessens the second, but leaves the first echo untouched. In writers of less pretention and in ordinary conversation partial persistence is constantly occurring. I read the other day in an undergraduate's essay the following sentence:—'The wife of Pericles is an historical nonentity; it is *Aspasia* with whom his aspirations and ideals are connected.' I suspect that the word 'aspirations,' not in itself a very natural word to use, was suggested by the mention of 'Aspasia.' Classical examples are frequent.

In *Od.* 20. 56 f. we find *εἴτε τὸν ἵππος ἐμαρπτε, λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῖ, | λυσιμελής*. According to Mr. Monro *ad loc.*, the poet 'probably meant no more than to play on the likeness between *μελέδημα* 'care' and *μέλος* 'limb.' I doubt if he meant so much. Rather the use of the phrase *λύων μελεδήματα* conjured up the ghost of itself—*λυσιμελής*—without conscious recognition on the part of the poet. Just so Meleager in one of his most beautiful epigrams (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 476) writes 'Ἠλιοδόρα, | δωροῦμαι. In the same subconscious vein Homer writes *Od.* 21. 44 f. *καὶ ἐπὶ σταθμῇν ἴθνην, | ἐν δὲ σταθμοῦς ἄρσε*. Similarly Dem. *Aristocrat.* 40 says *τούτων μὲν δὴ τὸν εἰργασμένον εἵργει*, and Soph. *O.C.* 1113 makes Oedipus describe his daughters as *ἐμφύντε τῷ φύσαντι*. Cicero writes 'moles molestiarum' (*de or.* 1. 2), 'pleniore ore' (*de off.* 1. 61), 'acer acerbus' (*Brut.* 221), and even—in a letter—'res mihi invisae visae sunt, Brute' (*ap. Quint.* 9. 4. 41), not to mention his notorious lines—'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'—and 'cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See further the references collected by Professor J. E. B. Mayor on Juv. 10. 122.

<sup>1</sup> *Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics*, p. 55.

Lucretius echoes the end of one hexameter by the beginning of the next<sup>1</sup> in l. 311 f.

quin etiam multis solis redeuntibus annis  
anulus in digito subter tenuatur habendo.

He also puts in juxtaposition 'officium . . . officere' (l. 336 f.), 'funditus . . . fundamenti' (l. 572 f.), 'fera ferri' (2. 103), 'apparet aperte' (2. 141), 'manibus manifesta' (4. 504), 'domi domitos' (5. 1334), and the like. Even Virgil has *Aen.* 6. 204 'discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.' I have noted a whole series of similar assonances from an iambic poem of Appuleius (Baehrens *P.L.M.* iv. 104, no. 114), e.g.

malas adorent ore et ingenuas genas  
et pupularum nitidas geminas gemmulas.—  
or again—

sinuare ad Veneris cursum femina feminae.

Many of these echoes, e.g. the combination 'femina feminae,' may be conscious rather than subconscious. It is quite possible for an expression to be started as a subconscious word-image but retained by a conscious recognition of its jingle or a conscious recognition of its fitness. The former needs no illustration: Gorgias among the prose-writers and Plautus among the poets will supply plenty of examples.<sup>2</sup> The latter deserves a moment's notice. The *St. James's Gazette* for Dec. 3, 1901, in an article on 'The Fastest Craft Afloat,' remarked:

'The owner has not seen fit to take the public into his confidence regarding the price paid for his pretty plaything, but the materials which have gone into the fashioning of the vessel prove that she must have cost a pretty penny,' etc.

It is probable that the first expression 'pretty plaything,' dimly present to the writer's mind as 'pretty p . . .,' actually suggested to him the second expression 'pretty penny.' He did not discard the suggested phrase, because, when he came to think of it, he realised that it was possessed of a certain humour, which suited his mood at the moment. Similarly in Eur. *Tro.* 761 ff. Antigone apostrophises Helen as follows:

<sup>1</sup> This form of repetition is often conscious and deliberate, e.g. Lucr. 5. 298 f., 950 f. See Munro on 2. 955.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand writers of more taste avoided such combinations. *Frag.* 12 of Isocrates' *technē* prohibits the ending of one word and the beginning of another with the same syllable (*εἰρούσα σαφή κ.τ.λ.*). Yet Isocrates himself was occasionally guilty of transgressing the rule: see Blass *Att. Ber.* ii. 144 f.

ὦ Τυνδάρεον ἔρνος, οὔ ποτ' εἰ Διός,  
πολλῶν δὲ πατέρων φημί σ' ἐκπεφυκέναι,  
'Αλάστορος μὲν πρότον, εἴτα δὲ Φθόνον,  
Φόνον τε Θανάτου θ', ὅσα τε γῇ τρέφει κακά.

The word Φόνον, suggested by Φθόνον, is allowed to stand as being after all a jingle appropriate to the situation.

This last example reminds us that iteration of the partial sort need not be confined to the beginning or end of a word. Sometimes the whole skeleton of the phrase, or at least the major portion of it, persists and is clothed upon with fresh meaning. In Soph. *Ant.* 163 ὄρθωσαν πάλιν means '(the gods) have once more steadied (the fortunes of our state).' The expression reappears almost intact *ibid.* 167, where we read ὄρθον πόλιν, '(Oedipus) was ruler of our state'—a somewhat different conception. In Eur. *Hec.* 538 ff. Neoptolemos prays to his dead father—

πρηνεμένης δ' ἡμῖν γενοῦ,  
λυσάτε πρύμνας καὶ χαλινωτήρια  
νεῶν δὸς ἡμῖν, πρηνεμένοῦς τ' ἀπ' Ἰλίου  
νόστον τυχόντας πάντας ἐς πάντων μολεῖν.

Mr. Hadley *ad loc.* regards πρηνεμένης . . . πρύμνας as an intentional paronomasia comparable with *ibid.* 442 f. Ἑλένην . . . εἴλε, 649 τὸν εὐροον Εὐρώταν. But those are cases of proper names whose supposed significance is brought out in accordance with the saying *nomen omen*. This is rather to be ranked with such an unpurposed assonance as Eur. *Tro.* 1232 f.

τελαμῶσιν ἔλκη τὰ μὲν ἐγὼ σ' ἰάσομαι,  
τλήμων ἱατρός ὄνομ' ἔχουσα . . .  
or Eur. *Bach.* 699 f.

σκύμνος λύκων  
ἀγρίους ἔχουσαι λευκὸν ἐδίδωσαν γάλα.  
or *Od.* 19. 115

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετέλλα.  
or *ib.* 21, 123

οὐ πό ποτ' ὀπώπει.

It may happen that different types of repetition occur in succession. An example of *B(a)* followed by *B(c)* is found in Eur. *Tro.* 923 ff. This instance is deserving of special attention; for it exhibits the gradual dying away of the subconscious echo. As the distance between the original phrase and the repetition of it increases, the exactitude of that repetition decreases:—

923 ἐνθ' ἐνδε τὰ πλοῖσι' ἄκουσον ὥς ἔχει  
931 κάλλει τὸν ἐνθ' ἐνδ' ὥς ἔχει σκέψαι  
λόγον.  
951 ἐνθ' ἐνδ' ἔχοις ἂν εἰς ἔμ' εὐπρεπῇ  
λόγον,



and perhaps we should add 1176 f.

ἐνθεν ἐκελᾷ  
δοτέων βαγέντων φόνος, ἵν' αἰσχροῖα μὴ λέγω.

The ἐνθενδε . . . ὥς ἔχει of 923 is faithfully repeated in 931<sup>1</sup>; but in 951, though the sound is kept up, ἐνθεν δ' is a relative adverb of place = ὅθεν δέ, as also in 1176, where the echo can be heard but faintly, if at all. A similar sequence of echoes, involving B(a) + B(c) occurs in *Od.* 19. 331 ff.—

331 ζῶω, ἀτὰρ τεθνεῶτί γ' ἐφεψιόωνται  
ἅπαντες  
370 οὐτω πον καὶ κείνῳ ἐφεψιόωντο γυναικες  
372 ὥς σέθεν αἱ κύνες αἶδε καθεψιόωνται  
ἅπασαι.

The astonishing frequency of iterations that must be referred to class B should make us very diffident of conjectural emendations in which a repeated phrase is altered merely on the ground of the repetition. Where there are other reasons, e.g. defective sense, for questioning the traditional text, well and good. In *Aesch. Suppl.* 493 ff., for example, few would be content to read with cod. M.—

ὧς ἂν τῶν πολιτισσούχων θεῶν  
βωμοὺς προνάους καὶ †πολιτισσούχων † ἔδρας  
εὐρωμεν.

But in *Carm. Epigr.* i. 33 no. 63—

hospes resiste et tumultum hunc excelsum  
aspice,  
quo continentur ossa paruae aetatulæ.  
sepulta heic sita sum, uerna quouis aetatulæ.  
grauitatem officio et lanificio praestitei.  
queror fortunæ cassum tam iniquom et  
grauem.—

it would be most unwise to tamper with 'aetatulæ' on the ground that we have just had 'aetatulæ': 'grauitatem' followed by 'grauem' sufficiently shows that the writer of the epitaph was liable to subconscious iteration. Bücheler's sober 'optes aetas fuit' is the most that can be said against it. Less cautious is Professor J. E. B. Mayor in his critical edition of *The Latin Heptateuch* (1889). He constantly alters the text for such reasons as these: 'The repetition of *dignetur* in 546 and 548 betrays corruption'

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf with the MSS. Prof. Tyrrell *ad loc.* would read τὸν ἐνθεν δ' . . . λόγον, 'the rest of the argument,' ἐνθεν being a demonstrative adverb of time. For our purpose the reading is immaterial: in either case line 951 is not so faithful an echo of 923 as is 931.

(p. 31), 'The *longae* of 833 and *longis* of 835 betray corruption' (p. 43), 'So well-equipped a poet would not have *posceret* and *poscentibus* in adjacent lines, rather *SoLVentibus* or *pENDentibus*' (p. 60), 'The repetition of *cura* (1008, 1010) is very suspicious' (p. 186), 'So careful a writer would scarcely use *poscere* and *poscit* so close [3, 4]. Probably (esp. as *post* is in line 2) the scribe has anticipated. Read *sibi poNere regem*' (p. 193), '350-1 the repetition of *territa* denotes a corruption' (p. 246). Even where other arguments are adduced against the genuineness of a word, we might sometimes defend it as a case of subconscious iteration. Thus on *Gen.* 424 ff.—

quinque fugam capiunt linquentes bella  
tyranni  
praecipitique fuga frondosis montibus ab-  
dunt,  
quod potuit superesse neci.—

Professor Mayor comments: 'I do not ask you to rival the simpering prudery with which Gibbon avoids repeating even proper names in a short context. But are you content with these two flights in two lines? Does not the second line require hurried work to hide what escaped slaughter? In a word, read: *praecipitique OPERA frondosis montibus abdunt, q.p.s.n.*' Taught by a long series of similar iterations in poets of greater calibre, we shall not hesitate to accept the repeated *fuga*.

What is the extreme limit within which a word-image may persist and beyond which we should rather trace the effects of a recurrent thought? It is difficult, perhaps in our present state of knowledge impossible, to say. In other words, the dividing line between the examples that I have classed under the headings A and B, though it corresponds to a real distinction, is hard to draw. Thus Ἕλληνες are contrasted with βάρβαροι in *Eur. Tro.* 759 ὦ βάρβαρ' ἐξενρόντες Ἕλληνες κακὰ and 766 πολλοῖσι κῆρα βαρβάροις Ἕλλησὶ τε presumably by the persistence of the word-image. But in 1019 ff., where the same contrast is expressed, is it to be accounted for in the same way or not? Similarly, *Tro.* 648 ἔχουσα . . . ἐξήρκουν ἐμοί = 668 εἶχον . . . ἀρκοῦντά μοι and *Bacch.* 111 στικτῶν τ' ἐνδύτῃ νεβρίδων = 137 f. νεβρίδος ἔχων | ἱερὸν ἐνδύτῳν are probably within the range of word-persistence. But what of *Tro.* 44 γαμῆ . . . σκότιον . . . λέχος = 251 λέκτρων σκότια νυμφευτήρια? And what inference should be drawn from the distribution of the passages in which,

say, the word *ἀψυχία* occurs? <sup>1</sup> It is found six times only in classical literature: viz. in Aesch. *sept.* 259, 383, Eur. *Alc.* 642, 696, 717, 956. The passages can hardly be altogether independent of each other: <sup>2</sup> but some of them are separated by such intervals that we are driven to ask—Can a word cast its shadow so far? This is one out of many points on which the grammarian of the future may reasonably expect help from the experimental psychologist. Meantime we must leave the matter undecided: *ἐνταῦθα κείσθω διηπορημένον*.

Before leaving the subject of unconscious iteration I should like to raise three questions in connexion with it. (1) The first is: does not the principle of word-persistence go far towards explaining the *conscious* iterations mentioned at the beginning of my article? What, for example, are alliteration and rime but the partial persistence of a word once used? Whether we reserve the name alliteration, as we probably ought to do, <sup>3</sup> for the assonance of accented syllables only, or extend it to include all initial assonance, as is still done by some authorities, in either case word-persistence may be regarded as the genus of which alliteration is a species. Rime, too, which permeates Greek and Latin literature to a degree that is often forgotten, <sup>4</sup> is obviously a second species of the same genus. And so with many other types of conscious iteration. Taking a broad view of the matter we may assert that an expression once used tends to perpetuate itself in whole or in part, and that this perpetuation is in the first instance subconscious. As soon as a speaker or writer begins to pick and choose his words with a view to simulating it, there we get conscious or rhetorical iteration. Hence it is frequently impossible to tell whether in any given case an iteration was subconscious and unintentional or conscious and deliberate. But Art copies Nature, and the tricks of rhetoric certainly rest on some such psychological foundation.

<sup>1</sup> Other examples are Aeschylus' use of the word *εἰδυένιν* and of the phrase *πολισσοῦσι θεοί*. The former is found in *Eum.* 895, 908, 944, only. The latter, in *suppl.* 493, *sept.* 69, 185, 271, *Ag.* 338.

<sup>2</sup> Note that in Aesch. *sept.* 192 *ἀψυχον κέκην* has been used; and that Eur. *Alc.* 696 f. *ἀψυχίαν...* *ᾧ κέκισθ'* = *ibid.* 717 *ᾧ κέκιστ'*, *ἀψυχίας*.

<sup>3</sup> B. Gerathewohl 'Grundzüge für lateinische Alliterationsforschung' (Verhandl. d. Vers. deutsch. Philol. u. Schulm. in München 1891) pp. 235-243, Paul *Grundriss d. german. Philologie* i. <sup>2</sup> p. 357, Kap. 5 § 23, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See O. Dingeldein *der Reim bei den Griechen u. Römern* Leipzig 1892, F. Dörp *der Reim bei den Griechen* Leipzig 1857, E. Wölfflin *der Reim im Lat.* in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.* i. 350 ff., iii. 443 ff., ix. 587 ff.

(2) Secondly, have we not here one clue to the formation of mannerisms? It will probably be admitted that personal peculiarities of style originate in some physical idiosyncrasy, and that their subsequent growth is gradual and subject to the ordinary laws of habitual action. My point is that the original idiosyncrasy often consists in a proneness to subconscious iteration, <sup>5</sup> It would, I believe, be possible in the case of some mannerisms to trace all the stages of their development from simple iteration of the sort described above through continuous and progressive usage to the fully matured idiom of *λέξις* or *ἁρμονία*. At least, we can often catch a mannerism in the making, a tendency to repeat a word or phrase which, unless checked by conscious effort, will soon pass into a stylistic habit. In Soph. *O.T.* 399 ff. Oedipus says to Teiresias—

ὃν δὴ σὺ πειρᾶς ἐκβαλεῖν, δοκῶν θρόνοις  
παραστατήσιν τοῖς Κρονταίσι πέλας.

κλάων δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ χῶ συνθεῖς  
τάδε

ἀγγλατήσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ 'δ' ὁ κεῖς γέρων  
εἶναι, παθὼν ἔγνωσ' ὅτι οἶα περ φρονεῖς.

XO. ἡμῖν μὲν εἰκάζουσι καὶ τὰ τοῦδ' ἔπη  
ὄργῃ λελέχθαι καὶ τὰ σ', Οἰδίπους, δοκεῖ.

Let us be honest: this sort of thing, even in Sophocles, is bad writing. <sup>6</sup> Again, Euripides does his best to spoil the beginning of Talthybius' famous description of the death of Polyxena by an equally undesirable iteration of the word *χείρ*: *Hec.* 523 ff.—

λαβὼν δ' Ἀχιλλέως παῖς Πολυξένην χερὸς  
ἔστησ' ἐπ' ἄκρον χύματος, πέλας δ' ἐγώ·  
λεκτοί τ' Ἀχαιῶν ἔκκριτοι νεανῖαι,  
σκήρτημα μύσχου σῆς καθέζοντες χερσὶν,  
ἔσποντο· πᾶν δ' ἐν χερσὶν λαβὼν δέπας  
πάγχρυσον αἶρει χερσὶ παῖς Ἀχιλλέως  
κ.τ.λ.

Elsewhere within fourteen lines (*Tro.* 903-916) Euripides has successively *λόγῳ*, *λόγους*, *λόγους*, *λόγος*, *λέγειν*, *λόγων*, *λέγειν*, *λόγων*—six of these words standing at the end of

<sup>5</sup> On the frequency with which Isaeus reiterates his thoughts without change of wording see Blass *Att. Ber.* <sup>2</sup> ii. 524 ff., 530, 540, iii. 222. In his case it is difficult to decide how far 'diese auffälligen Wiederholungen' were due to nature and how far to art. Rhetorical *ἐπιμονή* is, if I am right, only an artificial cultivation of natural insistence.

<sup>6</sup> Beatson's *Indices* are by no means complete: but he quotes 105 examples of *δοκέω* from Sophocles as against 55 from Aeschylus and 121 from Euripides. The proportion, if we take into account the number of extant plays, suggests that *δοκέω* was a favourite word with Sophocles.

their respective lines!<sup>1</sup> In sections 19-33 of the *Panegyricus* Isocrates uses the verb *προσέκειν* seven times. Between lines 670 and 783 of book iii Lucretius ends eight hexameters with various parts of the passive of 'insinuare.' A characteristic of Cicero's versification is his proneness to fill the fifth foot of the hexameter with a trisyllabic word derived from a stem in -min-. In the 480 lines of the *Aratea* I have counted no less than 70 examples, of which 34 are 'lumine,' 9 'lumina' and 2 'luminis'; 10 are cases of 'nomen,' 6 of 'tegmen,' 5 of 'flamen'; while 'culmine,' 'flumine,' 'numine,' 'semina' occur once each. In vv. 175-182 five lines out of eight have a fifth foot of this type.<sup>2</sup> Fragment 3 of Cicero's *de consulatu meo* contains in all 78 lines: 10 of them are of the same sort; we even find four in a row—

40 concidit elapsaeque vetustae **momine**  
leges,  
et divom simulacra peremit **fulminis**  
ardor.  
hic silvestris erat Romani **nominis**  
altrix  
Marta, quae parvos Mavortis **semine**  
natos  
etc.

After this one is not surprised to note 3 out of 11 hexameters ending with the word 'viator' in Bücheler *carm. epigr.* i. 208 no. 443,<sup>3</sup> or two out of three pentameters ending with '-nus amicitiae' (pignus a., munus a.) *ib.* ii. 505 no. 1102, or 'amicus' four times repeated in the nine lines of no. 470 (*ib.* i. 221).

on p. 250	3 times	on p. 258	2 times	on p. 266	0 times
251	2	259	4	267	1
252	4	260	5	268	0
253	1	261	2	269	1
254	3	262	0		
255	2	263	1		
256	3	264	1		
257	1	265	0		

One is reminded of *Od.* 19. 176 ff., where within 5 lines are found *μεγαλήτορες, μεγάλη, μεγαλον, μεγαθύμον*, or of *Lucr.* 2. 1-5 with their 'magno,' 'magnum,' 'magna.'

(3) In conclusion we may ask whether the principles of subconscious iteration throw any light on the so-called 'responsions' of the Pindaric odes. Professor Mezger observed 'that Pindar disclosed the fundamental

A modern parallel to such temporary or incipient mannerisms may be found in Matthew Arnold's beautiful poem *The Future*. It consists of 87 short lines; and at the very outset the poet fires an inadvertent shot, an unimportant and unnoticed phrase, which ricochets down the entire stream of his poem:—

3 On the breast of the river of Time  
22 Had left ere he woke on its breast  
32 The tribes who then roam'd on her breast  
35 Now reads in her bosom as clear  
38 Who guards in her breast  
55 And we on its breast, our minds  
66 That never will those on its breast  
82 Peace to the soul of the man on its breast—

In reading Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* I was struck by the frequency with which he there employs words denoting separation ('divide,' 'sunder,' 'sever'). These words do not occur sporadically: for pages together (e.g. pp. 41-62) they are entirely absent; and then they come in groups, derivatives of the same root being for the most part found near each other. I marked in the course of a not very attentive perusal 23 forms from the word 'divide,' 8 from 'sunder,' 4 from 'sever.' We are here surely in the presence of a usage only one step removed from a complete mannerism. Similarly in the last of the *Jowett Lectures* for 1901 the word 'great' is for a while manneristic: it appears—

ideas of his poems by repeating in each case one or more important words in the corresponding verse and foot of the strophe.<sup>4</sup> His hypothesis, as is well known, was warmly accepted and developed by Professor J. B. Bury, who regards these 'intentional signals' as having had a twofold purpose. 'Some responsions,' he says,<sup>5</sup> 'could hardly escape the notice of the most casual listener, and these were assuredly intended to be noticed. But in regard to the great number,

<sup>4</sup> F. Mezger *Pindars Siegeslieder*, Vorwort p. vi.

<sup>5</sup> J. B. Bury *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar*, Preface p. vii. f.

<sup>1</sup> See further C. Rieck *de proprietatibus quibusdam sermonis Euripidei* Halle 1877 p. 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In vv. 433-438 four lines out of six have 'corpore' or 'corpora' in the fifth foot.

<sup>3</sup> Two consecutive hexameters end with 'viator' in *Hor. sat.* 1. 5. 16 f.

it must be said that they are invisible signals...which do not, and are not meant to, contribute to the artistic effect of the poem.' They constitute a 'secret writing,' 'κρυπταὶ κλαῖδες to the arguments of his hymns,' and were 'intended to assist the study of the odes,' 'as a technical help to chorodidaskaloi and choregoi.' Professors Mezger and Bury deserve our gratitude for the pains they have taken to discover and point out these verbal echoes. Sometimes, as they would be the first to admit, they may have pushed their hypothesis too far: but in the main they have certainly noted an extraordinary number of lexical and metrical coincidences for which some explanation must be provided. My own doubt is not as to the reality of the echoes but as to their intentional character. Were they in truth *conscious* 'word-signals'? Were they not rather *unconscious* iterations like those that I have already discussed?

If it be urged that the Pindaric responsions often (though by no means always, on Prof. Bury's showing) occur in the same part of the verse as the original word, I answer that this was the case also with unconscious iterations: e.g. in Soph. *O.C.* 1610, 1623 and 1625, *ἐξαίφνης* occupied the same metrical position, as did *ἀκούων* *ibid.* 551, 554, and *κείσομαι* in *Ant.* 73, 76. Indeed, the fact that the poet has come again to a certain part of the line probably in itself predisposes him to repeat the phrase that fitted it before.<sup>1</sup>

If, again, it be argued that Pindar's responsions are restricted to his fundamental ideas (*Grundgedanken*), one might reply that an essential thought naturally tends to persist in the mind longer than a non-essential and, provided that its expression is not too striking, will be more readily repeated. But as a matter of fact Pindar's responsions are not so restricted. A careful reading of the examples printed by Professor Bury in heavy type will convince most critics that they include many points that may indeed be regarded as details contributing to the general idea (after all, what details do not?), but can only be called *Grundgedanken* by a great stretch of meaning.

Discounting, then, the external correspondence of metre and the internal importance of meaning, I am disposed to conclude that these responsions are unconscious iterations of the usual types. And the more so, as they occur not only between different portions of the same poem, but also between

different poems (see Professor Bury's *Introd.* to *Isthm.* ii. 2), and even between different Pindaric *εἶδη*—e.g.

*frag.* 131 Chr. (a θρήνος)

ἀλβία δ' ἅπαντες αἶσα λυσίπονον μετανίσ-  
σονται τελευτάν.

καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ πε-  
ρισθενεῖ,

ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἰδωλον· κ.τ.λ.

*Pyth.* 4. 66 ff.

πεύθομαι δ' αὐτὰν κατακλυσθεῖσαν ἐκ δούρατος

ἐναλίαν βῆμεν σὺν ἄλμῳ

ἐσπέρας, ἔγρ' ὧ πελάγει σπομέναν. ἦ

μὴν νῦν ὠπρνον θαμὰ

λυσίπονοις θεραπόντεσσιν φυλάξαι· κ.τ.λ.

Professor Mezger believed that no parallel to the Pindaric responsions could be adduced from other poets: in a significant sentence he says—

'Von einem zufälligen Zusammentreffen lässt sich hier nicht wohl reden, so lange nicht bei andern, etwa modernen, Dichtern ähnliche Wiederholungen nachgewiesen sind.'

Personally I incline to think that there are many poets, some modern, some ancient, who—if their works were studied with this end in view—would be proved to abound in responsions of the Pindaric sort.<sup>2</sup> Did Professor Mezger ever look for them in Theocritus? I will give but one example, *Idyll* ii. —

4 ὅς μοι ὠδεκαταῖος ἀφ' ὧ  
τάλας οὐδέ ποθ' ἴκει,

157 νῦν δέ τε ὠδεκαταῖος ἀφ' ὧ τέ  
νυν οὐδέ ποτεῖδον.

6 οὐδὲ θύρας ἄρα ξεν ἀνάρσιος. ἦ ῥά  
οἱ ἀλλ' ἄ

10 νῦν δέ νιν ἐκ θνέων καταδήσομαι.  
ἀλλά, Σελάνα,

158 ἦ ῥ' οὐκ ἄλλο τι τερπνὸν ἔχει, ἄμῳ  
δὲ λέλασται;

νῦν μὰν τοῖς φίλοις καταδή-  
σομαι· αἱ δ' ἔτι κῆμ'

λυπῇ, τὰν Ἀῖδαο πύλαν, ναὶ Μοίρας,  
ἀραξεῖ.

<sup>2</sup> This ode contains reminiscences of *Pyth.* vi. Prof. Bury p. 32 enumerates them and admits: 'It was indeed natural that echoes of the old song should haunt the dimmer corridors of the new song.'

<sup>3</sup> To test my feeling in the matter I took an elegy of Propertius (1.3) with the following result: 2 languida = 38 languidus, 2 deserta = 43 deserta, 3 somno = 25 somno = 41 somnum, 4 duris = 14 durus, 5 fessa = 42 fessa, 8 manibus = 16 manu = 24 manibus, 10 nocte = 37 noctis = 39 noctis, 12 molliter...toto = 34 molli...toto, 13 iuberet = 40 iubes, 15 leviter = 43 leviter, 19 fixus = 34 fixa, 19 ocellis = 33 ocellis, 23 lapsos = 45 lapsam, 32 moraturis = 44 moras.

<sup>1</sup> See Faust *progr. progymn. Altkirch.* 1881, p. 8, F. Schröder *de iteratis apud tragicos Graecos*, p. 6. n. 1.



- 8 βασιῦμαι ποτὶ τὰν Τιμαγῆτοιο  
παλαίστραν  
97 τήρησον ποτὶ τὰν Τιμαγῆτοιο  
παλαίστραν  
9 αὔριον, ὥς νιν ἴδω καὶ μέμψομαι  
οἷά με ποιῇ.  
58 σαύραν τοι τρίψασα κακὸν ποτὸν αὔρι-  
ον οἰσῶ.  
144 κοῦτε τι τῆνος ἐμὶν ἐπεμέμψατο  
μέσφα τό γ' ἐχθές,  
29 ὥς τάκοιβ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος  
αὐτίκα Δελφίς.  
96 πᾶσαν ἔχει με τάλαιναν ὁ Μύνδιος  
ἀλλὰ μολοῖσα  
44 εἴτε γυνὰ τήνφ παρακέλνται εἴτε  
καὶ ἀνῆρ,  
τόσσον ἔχου λάβας, ὅσσον ποκά  
Θητέα φαντί  
150 κεῖτε μιν αὔτε γυναικὸς ἔχει  
πόθος εἴτε καὶ ἀνδρὸς  
οὐκ ἔφατ' ἀτρεκὲς ἴδμεν, ἀτὰρ τόσον  
αἰὲν Ἔρωτος  
50 ὥς καὶ Δέλφιν ἴδοιμι, καὶ ἐς τόδε  
δῶμα περάσαι  
103 εἰς ἐμὰ δώματα Δέλφιν. ἐγὼ  
δέ νιν ὥς ἐνόησα  
58 σαύραν τοι τρίψασα κακὸν ποτὸν  
αὔριον οἰσῶ.
- 161 τοῖά οἱ ἐν κίστῃ κακὰ φάρμακα φαμὶ  
φυλάσσειν,  
72 τὰν πομπὰν θύσασθαι· ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἄ  
μεγάλαιος  
138 ἀνέρος. ὥς ὁ μὲν εἶπεν· ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἄ  
ταχυνπειθῆς  
102 ὥς ἐφάμαν. ἄ δ' ἦνθε καὶ ἄγαγε τὸν  
λιπαρόχρων  
165 χαῖρε Σελαναία λιπαρόχροε, χαῖρετε  
δ' ἄλλοι

Are there not responsions galore within the limits of this idyll, to say nothing of the echoes of other idylls that it contains? *e.g.*

1. 1 ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα  
= 2. 141 ἐψιθυρίσδομες ἀδύ.

And yet will anyone be bold enough to maintain that Theocritus intended them as a *memoria technica* for the benefit of those who should attempt to learn the poem by heart? The idea is preposterous. The fact is that throughout the whole course of ancient and modern literature the principles of unconscious iteration have been at work, and that in the odes of Pindar as in the idylls of Theocritus we must recognise the results of their operation.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

#### THE DATE OF PINDAR'S TENTH NEMEAN.

NOTHING but the singular beauty of the tenth *Nemean* could pardon me for raising so dull a question as that of its date. But when I find the latest student of the subject, and he a most sympathetic reader of Pindar, M. Gaspard, in his very valuable *Chronologie Pindarique*, suggesting the year 500 B.C. as the date of the poem, I am disposed to raise a protest. In B.C. 500 Pindar was at most in his twentieth year; and I find it *a priori* improbable, that a Theban youth of that age, who had as yet published nothing except perhaps *Isthmian* vii, a poem in honour of a countryman of his own, should have been selected as their laureate by citizens of distant Argos. Further *Nem.* x is marked by all the features of Pindar's ripest powers. In splendour of phrase, in rapidity and vigour of narrative, in dramatic vividness of representation it challenges comparison with the fourth Pythian itself, while the sublimity and pathos of its myth are, I think, unrivalled in the literature of Greece. M. Gaspard is

fully alive to these excellences, but he holds that they 'sont de celles qui tiennent au génie même de Pindare, et à ses qualités innées: elles dérivent de la nature bien plus que de l'art, et il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner si on les retrouve même dans une œuvre de première jeunesse.' This is perhaps a question of individual opinion; but we happen to possess specimens of Pindar's youthful manner, certainly in *Pyth.* x, which dates from 504 B.C., and almost certainly in *Isthm.* vii, which, as M. Gaspard has himself shown, is probably Pindar's earliest work; and I am surprised if any one can compare these two poems with *Nem.* x and not admit a marked advance in the latter both in literary art and intellectual power. M. Gaspard finds evidence of youth in the style of our poem, 'haché en phrases courtes qu'elle a en commun avec les autres poèmes de la jeunesse.' But the sentences are not shorter than those of other poems, *e.g.* *P.* ix 67 f. *N.* xi 43 f., which belong to Pindar's latest years. In my judgment this peculiar

feature tells rather the other way. The situation in the myth of *Nem. x*—the devotion of a brother to a brother—suggests that of one of the more successful of Tennyson's later poems, the beautiful and touching *Balin and Balan* :—

But when their foreheads felt the cooling  
air,  
Balin first woke, and seeing that true face,  
Familiar up from cradle-time, so wan,  
Crawl'd slowly with low moans to where he  
lay,  
And on his dying brother cast himself  
Dying ; and he lifted faint eyes ; he felt  
One near him ; all at once they found the  
world,  
Staring wild-wide ; then with a child-like  
wail,  
And drawing down that dim, disastrous  
brow  
That o'er him hung, he kiss'd it, moan'd and  
spake.

But I am not sure that the prodigality of the English poet does not contrast unfavourably with the reserve of the Greek.

ταχέως δ' ἐπ' ἀδελφεοῦ βίαν πάλιν χώρησεν ὁ  
Τυνδαρίδας,  
καὶ νιν οὐπω τεθναίτ', ἄσθματι δὲ φρίσσοντα  
πνοὰς ἔκιχεν.  
θερμὰ δὲ τέγγων δάκρυα στοναχαῖς  
ὄρθιον φώνησε.

Certainly the magnificent couplet with which the poem so abruptly closes and so dramatically suggests the eager joy of Polydeuces in declaring, without a word uttered, but only by his acts, his choice of the alternatives offered him by Zeus,

ὥς ἄρ' αἰδάσαντος, οὐ γινώμα διπλόαν θέτο  
βουλάν.  
ἀνὰ δ' ἔλυσιν μὲν ὀφθαλμόν, ἔπειτα δὲ φωνὰν  
χαλκομήτρα Καστορος

is effective beyond praise.

Further, M. Gaspard misses that connexion between the myth and the circumstances of the victory which the mature *technique* of Pindar demands. The myth, he says, forms 'un hors-d'œuvre qui, dans la contexture du poème, pourrait facilement être détaché du reste, sans que la suppression s'en fit sentir. L'épénicie pourrait s'arrêter après la gnome : καὶ μὲν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος du vers 54.' But is it so? Theaens of Argos had been successful in the 'Hecatombaea' of his native city : he now contemplates competing at Olympia (l. 29 ff.), and Pindar draws an augury of his success from the fact that his house is under the patronage of the

Tyndaridae, who will be faithful to their trust—καὶ μὲν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος. It is this very 'fidelity' of the Tyndaridae that gives point to the myth, and Pindar is careful to insist upon it in Polydeuces' outcry, l. 78 :—

οἴχεται τιμὰ φίλων τατωμένῳ  
φωτὶ παῖροι δ' ἐν πόνῳ πιστοὶ βροτῶν,  
where, as others have noted, the word *πιστοί* significantly recurs.

But it is not only in literary power and technical art that Pindar's work shows development : there is a corresponding development in his religious views. Croiset and, following him, M. Gaspard himself, have done full justice to this point. In his earliest Odes Pindar is seen still under the influence of the current Greek view of a 'jealous God'—τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐστὶ φθονερόν (Hdt. l. 32) : cf. *Isthm. vii. 39* : ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων μὴ θρασυτέω φθόνος *Pyth. x. 20*, φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν μεταστροφῆς. This view disappears entirely from his later work, in which directly and indirectly, in season and out of season, sometimes by suppression of facts, sometimes by flat contradiction, but more often by selecting the less objectionable of two alternative versions, Pindar is never weary of his attempt to purify the legends of the gods of unseemly detail and to preach his own profound belief in the divine perfection. The point is too familiar to readers of Pindar to need illustration here, and it is only now alluded to because the treatment of the myth in *Nem. x* affords more than one illustration of the practice. The current version of the quarrel between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae represented it as due to the rape by Castor and Polydeuces of the brides of Idas and Lynceus. Pindar will have none of this : according to him it arose from 'some question about cattle,' ἀμφὶ βοῦσι πως χολωθείς Ἴδας (x. 61). Again, the legend made Castor and Polydeuces both sons of Zeus ; but, as Castor was slain, this must not be, and Pindar with emphasis maintains that Castor was a mortal's son (x. 80), thus tacitly contradicting, as the scholiast notes, his favourite authority Hesiod : ὁ μὲν Ἡσίοδος ἀμφοτέρους Διὸς εἶναι γενεαλογεῖ· ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ἑτέροις τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἐξακολουθητικῶς τὸν μὲν Πολυδεῦκην ἐκ Διὸς, τὸν δὲ Κάστορα ἐκ Τυνδαρέω εἶναι φησιν. Hence he never speaks of the brothers as Διοσκοῦροι. Consistently with this view, Pindar slips in a third alteration. In the *Odyssey* (xi. 304) it is stated that the Tyndaridae divided their time between the earth and the grave : ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε τεθνᾶσιν.



Pindar improves on this (x. 87) :

ἤμισυ μὲν κε πνέουσιν γαίης ὑπέρβην ἐόν,  
ἤμισυ δ' οὐρανὸν ἐν χρυσεῖσι δόμουσιν,

where πνέουσιν and οὐρανοῦ are characteristic innovations upon the τεθνάσιν and ζώουσιν of his predecessor.

There remains, I think, another indication of the date, not hitherto noticed, of a nature more precise than are any of the arguments advanced above. Theaeus, beside his victory in his native city, had also been successful in the 'Panathenaea' at Athens, where the prize was a jar of olive-oil. (x. 33 ff.) On this passage the schol. has a curious note: οὐκ ἔστι δ' εξαγωγή ἐλαίου ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, εἰ μὴ τοῖσι νικῶσι. I know no other evidence for this exception to the prohibition of the export of oil from Athens, and I suspect that the reference in Pindar's lines is somewhat different. It is well known that about B.C. 550, when the Athenians were defeated by the Argives and Aeginetans, an embargo was laid by Argos on the importation of Athenian produce, especially pottery; cf. *Hdt.* v. 88: 'Ἀττικὸν μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱόν, μήτε κέραμον κ.τ.λ. In a valuable paper in a previous number of this *Review* (xii. 86) Mr. Hoppin has shown that this embargo must have lasted over seventy years, inasmuch as recent excavations at Argos have discovered scarcely any fragments of Athenian vases of the period B.C. 550-480. When the embargo was removed is unknown. Probably it was gradually relaxed or evaded; but it must have been formally rescinded in 460 B.C. when an Athenian-Argive alliance was formed. (Thuc. i. 102). Readers of Pindar must have been often struck by the curious emphasis and detail of the lines in question (x. 33 ff.). At first sight they have the air of a pointless conceit:

γαῖα δὲ καυθεῖσα πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας  
ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν ἐν ἀγγέων ἔρκεσιν  
παμποικίλοις.

'in earth burnt with fire the fruit of the olive came to the gallant host of Hera in richly-flowered enclosures of vases.' This feature will be removed, if we see in these lines a direct allusion by Pindar to the recent alliance between Argos and Athens and the consequent revival of the use of Athenian pottery at Argos. This is the alliance so often referred to in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, and such an allusion is entirely characteristic of Pindar, who loses no opportunity of glancing at the great political movements of his time and is indeed the most important contemporary witness for the history of his age that has survived for us. We are thus brought down to the very period which Dissen, arguing on quite different lines, long ago suggested. This was the period when Argos, after her capture of Mycenae (B.C. 464) became once more mistress of her plain and began again to resume her old place in the Peloponnese after the long depression succeeding her defeat by Cleomenes (494 B.C.). At such a time she may well have sent a citizen to compete in the games of her newly-formed ally Athens, and called upon the greatest poet in Greece to celebrate her reviving power by recalling the legends of fair women and brave men (x. 5 ff.) who had glorified her past. The poem must we know have immediately preceded an Olympian festival (x. 32): that, I suggest, was the festival of Ol. 80 = B.C. 460. The tenth Nemean thus follows next after Pyth. iv. (B.C. 462) and marks with it the zenith of Pindar's powers.

W. T. LENDRUM.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS ON DIELS' POETARUM PHILOSOPHORUM FRAGMENTA.

Parmenides *fr.* 16. 1, 2

ὥς γὰρ ἐκάστοτ' ἔχει κρᾶσιν μελέων πολυπλάκ-  
των

τὼς νόος ἀνθρώποισι παριστᾶται· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ  
ἔστιν ὅπερ φρονέει μελέων φύσις ἀνθρώποισιν.

Diels' παριστᾶται is surely questionable for παρίσταται or παρίστηκε of MSS. There

seems to be a corruption in τὸ, for which I would suggest αὐτὸ. If αὐταυτο is possible, why should not αὐτὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ be admissible? 'is the very thing itself.'

Empedocles *fr.* 4. 9, 10, 11

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἄθρει πάσῃ παλάμῃ, πῇ δὴλον ἕκαστον,  
μήτε τι δύνῃ ἔχων πίστει πλέων ἢ κατ' ἀκονὴν  
ἢ ἀκοὴν ἐρίδουπον ὑπὲρ τρανώματα γλώσσης.

In 10 Diels mentions a v.l. *τιν'*, which may, I think, be right. But the construction of the words *ὅψιν ἔχων πίστει* is very obscure. Nor can I see how it can find a parallel in the Homeric *σῆσιν ἔχε φρεσί*. Possibly the cases have become inverted *μήτε τιν' ὅψει ἔχων πίστιν πλέον*. If this is so, the accus. *ἀκοήν* in 11 is constructed *κατὰ σύνεσιν* 'not trusting your sight more than if you had heard, or accepting the ears' sounding message beyond the clear indications of the tongue.'

Emped. fr. 17. 20, 21, 25

καὶ Φιλότης ἐν τοῖσιν, ἴση μῆκος τε πλάτος τε  
τὴν σὺ νόψ δέρκεν, μηδ' ὀμμασιν ἦστο τεθηπώς  
τὴν οὐ τις ἴμετ' ὅσσοισιν ἐλισσομένην δεδοῖκε  
θηγὲς ἀνήρ.

ὅσσοισιν 'with the eyes' appears indubitably

right: is not *μετ'* simply an expansion of *τ'* trajected from its proper place after *τὴν*?

Emp. fr. 64

τῷ δ' ἐπὶ καὶ Πόθος εἴσι δι' ὀψιος ἄμματα  
μίσγων.

So Diels partly after Karsten and Wyttenbach: but, unless I am much mistaken, the last words as given by the MSS. of Plutarch *διὰ πέψως ἀμμίσγων* point rather to *δι' ὀψιος αἰμ' ἀναμίσγων*.

Timon fr. 62

ἔνθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων αἰτιάται τὸν Πλάτωνα ἐπὶ τῷ  
οὕτω καλλωπίζειν τὸν Σωκράτην πολλοῖς μαθή-  
μασιν. ἡ γὰρ, φησι, τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἱμεῖναι  
ἡθολόγον.

μαίνειν οἱ μύθας.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

#### ON THE MEMORABILIA OF XENOPHON.

1. 3. 14 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀφροδισιάζεν τοὺς μὴ  
ἀσφαλῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀφροδίσια ψετο χρήναι  
πρὸς τοιαῦτα, οἷα μὴ πᾶν μὲν δεομένον τοῦ  
σώματος οὐκ ἂν προσδέξαιτο ἡ ψυχὴ, δεομένον δὲ  
οὐκ ἂν πράγματα παρέχοι. Editors and critics  
point out the unusual construction *ἀφροδι-  
σιάζεν πρὸς τι* and also the very strange  
use of the neuter *τοιαῦτα οἷα*, which is not  
to be justified by thoughts of *παιδικά*. None  
of them that I know of has suggested that  
both difficulties disappear together, if we  
take the second *πρὸς* as an accidental repe-  
tion of the first, like *ἐπὶ* in 2. 1. 23 below,  
and write *ἀφροδισιάζεν...χρήναι τοιαῦτα οἷα*  
κ.τ.λ.

1. 6. 13 Ὁ Ἀντιφῶν, παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζεται τὴν  
ῥᾶν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὁμοίως μὲν καλόν, ὁμοίως  
δὲ αἰσχρὸν διατίθεσθαι εἶναι. τὴν τε γὰρ ῥᾶν  
εἶναι μὲν κ.τ.λ. εἶναι δὲ κ.τ.λ. καὶ τὴν σοφίαν  
ὡσαύτως τοὺς μὲν...πωλοῦντας κ.τ.λ. ὅστις δὲ  
κ.τ.λ.

The point is not that it is equally  
credible and discreditable to dispose of the  
two things, but that in both cases there is a  
credible as well as a discreditable way of  
doing it, two possibilities with regard to  
each of them, set forth with correspondence  
of *μὲν* and *δέ*. It follows that in the early  
part of the sentence we want adverbs, not  
adjectives: *ὁμοίως μὲν καλῶς, ὁμοίως δὲ*  
*αἰσχρῶς διατίθεσθαι εἶναι, εἶναι* meaning *it is*

possible. For the double adverb cf. Thuc.  
2. 60. 6 οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι.

2. 1. 23 ὁρῶ σε, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀποροῦντα ποῖαν  
ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τράπη' εἶναι οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην  
ποιησάμενος, [ἐπὶ] τὴν ἡδίστην τε καὶ ῥάστην  
ὁδὸν αἶξ σε.

The MSS. (including Stobaeus who has  
*ποιησάμενος*) are divided between *ποιησάμενος*,  
*ποιήσῃ*, *ποιήσῃς*, and *ποιήσῃ*, of which the  
last three are much more likely to be  
'corrections' of the first than the first to be  
a corruption of them. Is then *ποιησάμενος*  
right? The understanding over again of  
*ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τράπη* is so awkward that I  
think not. It is more probable that some  
word like *βαδίτης* has dropped out. If so,  
it is very tempting to insert a word almost  
identical with the first syllables of *ποιησά-  
μενος* and hence easily lost, reading *εἶναι οὖν*  
*ἐμὲ φίλην <προίης> ποιησάμενος*.

ib. 26 οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλοι καλοῦσίν με Εὐδαι-  
μονίαν, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντές με ὑποκοριζόμενοι ὀνο-  
μάζουσι Κακίαν.

It is certain that *ὑποκοριζόμενοι* cannot be  
used of calling by a bad name, as it means  
just the opposite. There is therefore a good  
deal of plausibility in the proposal to put  
the word into the first clause instead of the  
second; only then, as Gilbert says, *Vice*  
*videtur tanquam suam causam prodere*. Was

it not a gloss written in the margin and intended to apply to the first clause (φίλοι κ.τ.λ.), then inserted by mistake in the text and inserted in the wrong place?

2. 2. 9 ὅταν ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔσχατα λέγωσιν.

Ἐσχατα πάσχειν, ἔσχατα κακά, etc. are recognised phrases; but ἔσχατα λέγειν seems questionable. Does it occur elsewhere? I should be inclined to read αἰσχιστα. The words are sometimes confused, and Soph. *Aj.* 1320, 1324: *Phil.* 607 with *Iliad* 3. 38: 6. 325 are enough to establish the propriety of αἰσχιστα here.

2. 6. 5 ὅστις . . ἐγκρατὴς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, εὐκοῖος δὲ καὶ εὐσύμβολος ὢν τυγχάνει καὶ φιλόνομος πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐλλείπεσθαι εὖ ποιών τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτόν.

Of the two best MSS. one has εὐκοῖος, the other εἰνους. The rest are divided between εἰνους, εὐκοῖος, and εὐορκος. Εὐκοῖος is unmeaning here, and neither εἰνους nor εὐορκος accounts for the various readings. Εὐνοϊκός, which I suspect Xenophon wrote, will account fairly for all three, εὐορκος being an easy 'correction' of εὐκοῖος after the ν was lost. He has the adverb εὐνοϊκῶς about a dozen times, though the adjective, which is less common generally, seems not to occur in his writings. Εὐνοϊκός is a more proper word than εἰνους here; a man is εὐνοϊκός by nature, εἰνους by accident of acquaintance, etc.

ib. 38 εἰ σοὶ πείσαιμι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν ψευδέμενος, ὥς ἂν στρατηγικῶς τε καὶ δικαστικῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς, ἐαντὴν ἐπιτρέψαι.

The distinction in this sort of use between ὥς and ὥς ἂν (cf. Kühner's note) is not very hard to grasp. Ἐπιτρέπω σοὶ ἑμάντων ὥς σοφῶς means that I regard you as wise and put myself in your hands accordingly; ἐπιτρέπω σοὶ ἑμάντων ὥς ἂν σοφῶς means that I do not, at least necessarily, regard you as wise, but that for some reason or other I put myself in your hands as though you were: 'I entrust myself to you, as I should to a wise man, or as I should if I thought you wise.' So τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὥς σοφός ὢν, 'as a wise man, he acts in this way'; τοῦτο ποιεῖ ὥς ἂν σοφός, 'he acts in this way, as a wise man would do,' by no means assuming that he is wise, though possibly his wisdom might be inferred from his action. In other words ὥς ἂν cannot be used to introduce a fact or what is regarded as a fact by the person or persons immediately concerned. In late Greek this distinction is lost and ὥς ἂν used freely for ὥς, but in good Attic it is always maintained.

It would seem therefore doubtful whether the expression ascribed to Solon about the Athenians driven abroad,

γλώσσαν οὐκ ἐρ' Ἀττικὴν  
ἰέντας, ὥς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους,

can be quite rightly preserved, for they *did* wander in many places, whereas ὥς ἂν means *as though* they wandered. In spite of Gilbert I do not think it can be said that ὥς ἂν is inappropriate here in Xenophon, as it is distinctly meant that Critobulus lacks the qualifications in question. Athens might be induced to trust herself to him *as she would* to a competent man. At the same time the hypothesis is that she thinks him competent, and for that ὥς is more proper, like ὥς ὄντι οἰκονομικῶς τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖ in the next and precisely parallel sentence. Ἄν here has been changed to ὄντι (Weiske), but that is very improbable. Remembering however the very frequent interchange of ἂν and ὄντι, I think it is an open question whether here and in 3. 6. 4: 3. 8. 1 δὴ should not be read. Certainly here and in 3. 6. 4 it would be quite in place: in 3. 8. 1 less so.

2. 9. 4 οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἶος ἀπὸ παντὸς κερδαίνειν ἀλλὰ φιλόχρηστος τε καὶ ἔφη ῥᾶστον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν λαμβάνειν.

Archedemus is an able and honourable man who sees no objection to making the συκοφάνται yield up some of their ill-gotten gains. In the present case he gave one of them no peace ἕως τὸν τε Κρίτωνα ἀφῆκε καὶ αὐτῷ χρήματα ἔδωκε. But it is inept to say of him that he was honourable and thought it very *easy* to get money out of the συκοφάνται. The two things do not hang together. It occurred to me first that ῥᾶστον might be a mistake for χρηστοῦ, 'that it was quite the part of an honourable man,' as Euripides says (*Fragm.* 678 Nauck) ἐστὶ τοι καλὸν κακοῦς κολάζειν. But perhaps the more familiar interchange of ῥᾶστος and ἀριστος affords a better explanation. He used to say ἀριστον εἶναι, that it was the best thing or a very good thing to do.

There is much awkwardness about τε καὶ coupling an adjective and a verb. Perhaps Xenophon wrote something like φιλόχρηστος τε καὶ <φιλόκαλος καὶ> ἔφη.

3. 3. 7 θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐξοργίζειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἅπερ ἀλκιμωτέρους ποιεῖ, διανέομαι;

As some, though not the best, MSS. have εἴπερ and all MSS. are said to have ποιεῖν (ποιεῖ Stobaeus), it may be worth considering whether Xenophon wrote εἴπερ ἀλκιμωτέρους

ποιεῖν <βούλει>. Cf. 3. 6. 3 εἴπερ τιμᾶσθαι βούλει, ὠφελήτεια σοι ἢ πόλις ἐστί.

3. 5. 1 Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, βουλομένην ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀ λέγεις· ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι. Βούλει οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, διαλογιζόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶμεν ὅπου ἤδη τὸ δυνατόν ἐστί;

I think the editors ought to have seen before now that δυνατόν is a mistake, made in many other places too, for ἀδύνατον. Consider the context. Young Pericles would like to improve the military strength and reputation of Athens, but he is afraid it can't be done. Well, says Socrates, shall we try and find out where the difficulty, the impossibility, lies? The Athenians are as numerous as the Boeotians; they are physically as robust, morally as patriotic and public-spirited; they have at least as glorious a history to inspire them. Ah, but for some time past (says Pericles) Boeotia has been gaining courage and Athens losing it. That (Socrates rejoins) will make the Athenians all the more ready to follow anyone who shows them how to retrieve their credit and position. Socrates thus shows, point by point, that there is *nothing* to prevent Pericles from effecting what he wishes. The argument would have to take another turn altogether, if they set out to consider how the thing was possible. 'How are you to do it? They are numerous, robust,' etc.: that is nonsense. 'Why should you not do it? Where is the impossibility? They are numerous, robust,' etc.: this is sense.

Notice also the concluding words of the dialogue (28): ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἂν τούτων καταπράξεῖς . . . καλὸν ἔσται . . . , εἰν δὲ τι αὐτῶν ἀδυνατήσῃς, κ.τ.λ.

ιβ. 7 ἀλλὰ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Περικλῆς, εἴ γε νῦν, μάλιστα πείθονται, ὥρα ἂν εἴη λέγειν, πῶς ἂν αὐτοὺς προτρεψαίμεθα κ.τ.λ.

Continuing the discussion, Pericles says, 'If what you say is true, that under present circumstances they would be more ready to follow a leader, then we might go on to ask how best to animate them with a right ambition.' It is abundantly clear that this requires not εἴ γε νῦν μάλιστα πείθονται, 'if they were now to listen' but εἴ γε νῦν μάλιστα ἂν πείθονται, 'if it is true that they would now be likely to listen.' So in 4. 3. 8 μάλισθ' ἡμᾶς ὠφελοῖται is now always corrected to μάλιστ' ἂν ἡμᾶς, and the error is an extremely common one.

ιβ. 9 They must remind the Athenians how their ancestors won such eminence: εἰ

τούς γε παλαιάτους ὧν ἀκούομεν προγόνους αὐτῶν ἀναμνησκόμεν αὐτοὺς ἀκηκοτάς ἀρίστους γεγονέναι.

No one appears to have made sense of ἀκηκοτάς, and it is often omitted. Even Cobet sanctions this. The course of the argument however seems to show that ἀκηκοτάς is a blunder for ἀσκούντας. They got their place by hard training. Cf. 14 εἰ μὲν ἐξευρόντες τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιτηδεύματα μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύοιεν, and 15 σωμασκήσουσιν. In Dion. Hal. 450 τοῖς ἀσκούσι τὴν πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν is now read after Reiske's conjecture for τοῖς ἀκούουσι τ.π.φ. Thuc. 2. 39. 2 ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται illustrates the meaning, though he and Xenophon seem to differ about the fact.

3. 11. 14 Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔφη (Theodote the courtesan), ἐγὼ λιμὸν ἐμποιῶν τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ δυναίμην; Εἰ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πῶτον μὲν τοῖς κεκορησμένοις μήτε προσφέρεις μήτε ὑπομνήσκεις, ἕως ἂν τῆς πλησμονῆς πανσάμενοι πάλιν δέωνται, ἔπειτα τοὺς δεομένους ὑπομνήσκεις ὥς κοσμιωτάτῃ τε ὁμολίᾳ καὶ τῷ <μῇ Cobet, Schenkl, Gilbert, Marchant> φαίνεσθαι βουλομένην χαρίζεσθαι καὶ διαφεύγουσα ἕως ἂν ὡς μάλιστα δεηθῶσι.

It is odd that Cobet should have inserted μῇ in the wrong place: still odder that all the editors have followed him so obediently. His extraordinary insight might well by some accident go for once astray, but how is it none of the editors have seen that the necessary μῇ must precede not φαίνεσθαι but either βουλομένην or χαρίζεσθαι? If it precedes φαίνεσθαι, then διαφεύγουσα is negatived too, 'not to appear anxious to avoid,' which makes nonsense. In strict logic and by ordinary idiom it should be βουλομένη μῇ χαρίζεσθαι. But it is also good Greek to write μῇ βουλομένην χαρίζεσθαι, in which case οὐ βούλομαι (cf. οὐ φημι, οὐ προσποιῶμαι, etc.) is like our 'I don't wish to gratify' = 'I wish not to gratify.' I should prefer however to write βουλομένη μῇ χαρίζεσθαι because the last syllable of βουλομένη will explain the loss of μῇ. Cf. on 4. 1. 3 below.

But the sentence contains another and less obvious mistake, not difficult to set right. The second ὑπομνήσκεις is quite inappropriate. If Theodote bears herself modestly and seems coy and reluctant, how can this be said to 'remind' men? The point should be and evidently is that it stimulates them, as going without food provokes hunger (13). The word for this, which ὑπομνήσκεις has displaced the more easily because the two words are partly



alike, is ὑποκνίζεις. Socrates has already used it in this chapter (3) in the same sort of connection, ἀπιμεν ὑποκνιζόμενοι καὶ ἀπελθόντες ποθήσομεν. The first ὑπομνησκούς here in 14, which seems appropriate enough, and which I do not wish to alter, remained in the copyist's mind and led him, no doubt unconsciously, to adapt ὑποκνίζεις to it.

[Dr. Postgate points out to me the parallel afforded by Prop. 4. 5. 29, if we adopt the conjecture *exstimulare* or *et stimulare*. The right reading is however very doubtful.]

4. 1. 3 Socrates draws an illustration from dogs, pointing out τῶν κυνῶν τῶν εὐφρεσάτων... τὰς μὲν καλῶς ἀχθείσας ἀρίστας γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τὰς θήρας καὶ χρησιμωτάτας, ἀναγωγὸς δὲ γιγνομένης ματαίους τε καὶ μαρινώδεις καὶ δυσπείθεστας. Read <τὰς> ἀναγωγὸς δέ, which seems especially needed after the partitive genitive τῶν-εὐφρεσάτων, and note that τὰς has been absorbed by the last syllable of χρησιμωτάτας. For the position of δέ cf. 4. 5. 11 τὰ μὲν κράτιστα... τὰ ἥδιστα δέ κ.τ.λ.

4. 2. 3 Παρασκευάσασθαι should be παρεσκευάσθαι, as in 4. 1. 5. The aorist tense is unsuitable, and the mistake one of a very common type.

4. 2. 10 γνωμονικοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοῦτο δέ.

Strange constructions have been found for τοῦτο, and κὰν τοῦτω has been suggested. If Cobet is right in saying (V.L. pp. 155, 272) that καί and πρὸς get interchanged, we might very well read πρὸς τοῦτο. Note however a similar καί just before in καὶ ἱατρῶν.

ib. 28 ἐπιθυμοῦσι τούτους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ προϊστασθαι τε αὐτῶν τούτους, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τοῦτοις ἔχουσι. τε is usually altered to γε after Stephanus. The construction is so awkward, especially with τούτους repeated, that some scholars have seemed to look with favour on his proposal to insert ἐθέλουσι (βούλονται?). But what has happened is that the infinitive βουλεύεσθαι has caused a finite verb to get into the infinitive too, quite a common sort of error. Xenophon wrote καὶ προϊστάνται τε... καὶ... ἔχουσι. With that τούτους is right enough.

4. 1. 17 τίτι δ' ἂν τις μᾶλλον πιστεύσει παρακαταθέσθαι ἢ χρήματα ἢ νιούς... τίτι δ' ἂν μᾶλλον πολέμοι πιστεύειαν ἢ ἀνοχὰς ἢ σπονδὰς ἢ συνθήκας περὶ εἰρήνης;... τῷ δ' ἂν μᾶλλον

οἱ σύμμαχοι πιστεύειαν ἢ ἡγεμονίαν ἢ φρουραρχίαν ἢ πόλεις;

In the first sentence παρακαταθέσθαι is explanatory or consecutive, 'whom would a man sooner trust, so as to deposit?': in the third πιστεύειαν ἡγεμονίαν κ.τ.λ. is quite natural, 'commit these things to his hands. But in the second can you speak of enemies 'trusting' treaties, etc. to a man in the sense of making them with him in full trust and confidence as to his honour? The phrase can hardly be justified and perhaps an infinitive similar in construction to παρακαταθέσθαι has fallen out, e.g. πιστεύειαν <ποιεῖσθαι> ἢ ἀνοχὰς.

4. 5. 1 αὐτὸς φανερός ἦν τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἡσκηκὼς αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἀσκῶ has two constructions: ἀσκῶ τινα I practise (train) a man: and ἀσκῶ τι I practise a thing, i.e. practise myself in a thing. ἀσκῶ τινα logically justifies ἀσκῶ ἑμαυτόν, but then this means exactly the same as ἀσκῶ τι, which is certainly the common expression. The only passage I find cited for the reflexive pronoun is Cypor. 8. 6. 10 ἐξάγειν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τὸν σατράπην τοὺς ἀπὸ θυρῶν καὶ ἀσκεῖν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἑαυτῷ τὰ πολεμικά; but there it is by no means necessary. αὐτόν as subject of ἀσκεῖν makes perfectly good sense. Unless therefore other examples are forthcoming, I suspect that αὐτόν in the Memorabilia should be αὐτήν, i.e. ἐγκράτεια in the preceding sentence; and this is otherwise better than αὐτόν, as ἡσκηκὼς αὐτόν fails to specify what he trained himself in.

4. 6. 12 ὅπου μὲν ἐκ τῶν τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιτελούντων αἱ ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, ταύτην μὲν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι.

Is not some word like ἀρίστα or μάλιστα needed with ἐπιτελούντων? Cf. Cypor. 8. 1. 8 ὅταν μὲν ὁ ἐπιστάτης βελτίων γένηται, καθαρώτερον τὰ νόμιμα πράττεται ὅταν δὲ χείρων, φανλότερον.

4. 7. 2 ἕως ἱκανὸς τις γένοιτο, εἴ ποτε δεήσει, γῆν μέτρῳ ὀρθῶς ἢ παραλαβεῖν ἢ παραδοῦναι ἢ διανεῖμαι ἢ ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι.

Here again something seems missing. The vague ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι can hardly stand beside the other specific expressions. Read something like ἢ ἄλλο τι ἔργον (or ἢ ἔργον ὅτιον), ἀποδείξασθαι.

ib. 4 ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἐμπίρους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτης μέντοι μέχρι τοῦ νυκτὸς τε ὥραν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δυνάσθαι γινώσκειν ἕνεκα πορείας τε καὶ πλοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ μηνὸς ἢ ἐνιαυτοῦ πράττεται, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἔχειν τεκμηρίους χρῆσθαι, τὰς ὥρας τῶν εἰρημένων διαγινώσκοντας.



There is sense in talking about a thing being done *νυκτός* *by night*, literally at *some time within a night*, but there is none in talking of a thing being done *μηνός* or *ἐνιαυτοῦ*, except when those genitives mean what they clearly do not mean here, *within a month or year*, that is at some time not more than a month or year distant, or in some given month (4. 8. 2) or year. It is plain that the sense here intended is things that have to be done at given times of the night, the month, or the year, or something like that. But no effort will get this sense out of the simple genitives *μηνός* and *ἐνιαυτοῦ*. The insertion of *ταῖς ὥραις* has been thought of, but it is not, I think, quite what is wanted, besides being open to the objection that we already have *ὥραν* and *τὰς ὥρας* in other parts of the sentence. I should say that some expression like 'by observation of night, month, year' is what Xenophon wrote, e.g. *ἐνιαυτοῦ <τηρήσει>*, or, to repeat a word used in § 2 about geometry, *ἐνιαυτοῦ <μετρήσει>*.

4. 7. 10 εἴ τις μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν ὠφελείσθαι βούλοιο, συνεβούλευε μαντικῆς ἐπιμελείσθαι.

Is *μᾶλλον ὠφελείσθαι* a good Greek expression? *ὠφελείν* is one of the class of verbs noted by Cobet *N.L.* 270, with which are coupled not adverbs but neuter adjectives. The phrases are *πλέον, πλείστα, μέγιστα, μηδέν, τοσοῦτον, ὠφελείν*, as any one may see, for instance, by examining *ὠφελῶ* in Ast's *Lexicon Platonicum*. That lexicon does indeed give one passage with *μάλιστα*, but there *μάλιστα* goes in sense with *ἐμοῦ*, not with the verb (*Theages* 127 D εἶπερ οἶε ἵπ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα ἂν σοι τοῦτον ὠφελήθῃαι). Without therefore pronouncing *μᾶλλον* impossible (especially in Xenophon) we are justified in doubting it, and all the more if there is an obvious and easy remedy at hand. Probably Xenophon wrote *μᾶσσον*, a word which is now read for *ἐλάσσων* in *Cyrop.* 2. 4. 27 on the authority of Suidas and, again for *ἐλάσσων*, by conjecture in *Resp. Lac.* 12. 5. The superlative *μήκιστος* also occurs in him two or three times. Semi-poetical as it is, it is just such a term as Xenophon rather likes using and just such as to get corrupted to a more familiar word, like *μᾶλλον* or *ἐλαττον*, as in the above instances. In the present context it seems especially suitable to the notion belonging to *μαντικῇ* of something which sees and reaches *further* than ordinary human wisdom. A similar word which occurs several times in the *Memorabilia* is *μείων*, used instead of the familiar *ἥττων*.

4. 8. 7 οὐ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν ἐμὲ . . . ἀλλὰ διότι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἂν οἴονται ἐμοὶ συνόντες βέλτιστοι γίγνεσθαι.

The editors seem not to notice this very curious use of *διότι*, in the sense of *because*. It may of course be a mistake for *διότι*, but it would be unsafe to alter it. Is there any other example of the use? Dem. 3. 19 has been taken so, but quite needlessly. Liddell and Scott mention that *διό* is similarly used in late Greek, quoting [Aristotle] *De Plant.* 2. 4. 825 b 19. That would be easier to alter.

There are two or three topics connected with the *Memorabilia* on which I will add a word.

(1) It is surprising that the *Oeconomicus* and *Symposium* have ever been thought to be detached portions of the *Memorabilia*, a view as old as Galen. Their length is in itself sufficient to disprove the idea, for *Symp.* is a quarter and *Oecon.* about half the total length of *Mem.*, the latter work containing only short or comparatively short conversations. Their contents also unfit them to be parts of it. *Mem.* is serious all through, either defending Socrates from charges brought against him or otherwise showing how good and improving his conversation was. *Symp.* is the account of a drinking-party, introducing Socrates in his lighter moments, characteristic enough, but no part of the earnest *Mem.* Moreover in *Symp.* Socrates is only one talker of many, the most prominent no doubt, but not holding the exclusive position which he does in *Mem.* Just as in Plato's like-named dialogue Agathon, Aristophanes and the rest all have their turn, so in Xenophon. *Oecon.* of course is serious enough, but in it again Socrates is by no means predominant throughout. For two-thirds of it Ischomachus is really the protagonist. Socrates does not become a mute person as in *Sophistes* and *Politicus*, but Ischomachus does most of the talking and sometimes talks continuously for a page or pages together. There is nothing like this in *Mem.*, and it would be inconsistent with the plan of the work. The somewhat clumsy structure of *Oecon.* is indeed noticeable. Xenophon narrates a long conversation between Socrates and Critobulus. A large part of this conversation consists of a narration by Socrates of another conversation he held with Ischomachus; and of this doubly narrated conversation with Ischomachus Ischomachus' narration of a third conversation forms no small part. Plato goes a long way in

the matter of narrated dialogue, but not so far as this. Also, awkwardly enough, *Oecon.* ends at the close of Socrates' conversation with Ischomachus, and without coming back to the talk with Critobulus in the course of which that conversation was narrated.

(2) I have not studied *Mem.* minutely enough to speak with absolute confidence, but the impression left on me by two or three fairly careful readings is that the bulk of it is genuine Xenophon, and that no good case is made out for the theory of incessant and extensive interpolations. We must allow for the fact that Xenophon is only a writer of moderate merit, and that his strength never lies in clear and forcible thinking; and we may assume, what is partly the same thing, that the work was never intended to be other than loose in its structure, and that very probably bits of it were composed at different times, and added on or inserted without sufficient regard to the rest. These things being given, though the reasoning is sometimes obscure or feeble, and the composition rather a patchwork, I see no sufficient grounds for holding that Xenophon did not write most of it as it stands. Not a few of the objections have arisen from imperfections of language, which criticism gradually diminishes in number. Some few I hope are removed in the suggestions above made. Many other objections, as far as I have examined them, appear to me hyper-critical or quite unfounded. There are plenty of real blots and blemishes in the book, which the critics have pointed out along with a number of more or less imaginary ones. When the text has been thoroughly purged of corruptions—and that has not been done yet—I should say that Xenophon ought to bear most of the blame for the faults which remain.

(3). How far does the characteristic Xenophontean vocabulary appear in *Mem.*? What light, if any, does the language throw on the date of composition? I will not give details. Indeed I have not collected them with quite sufficient care. But, *particles apart*, the vocabulary pure and simple is not very markedly Xn., though much of the almost unanalysable style is. *Particles apart* I do not know that the vocabulary is much more marked than that of the first part of the *Hellenics*. There are a few cases of such familiar Xn. words as *σύν*, *ἔσπε*, *ἐπεί* temporal, *ὥς* final (I have only noticed one, l. 4. 6), *πρόσθεν*, *ἐνθα*, *ἦ*, *μείων*, *τέκνα*, *ἔλεξεν*, *αὔξειν*, and some others, e.g. *ὄμμα*, *εὐπετώς*, *μοχθεῖν*,

*τερπνός*, *εὐμενής*, *εὐφροσύνη*, *λυσιτελεῖν*, *ὥσάν-τωσ*, *δορεῖσθαι*, *ἀλέξασθαι*, which belong to him; but the proportion is small. Particles, however, which are so conspicuously wanting in the first part of the *Hellenics*, are abundant here (as Roquette has shown) and quite Xn. in character. If therefore we are to give *Mem.* a decidedly later date, it must, I think, as far as the vocabulary goes, be on the strength of the particles. Again, there is not, as far as I see, any marked difference in vocabulary between different parts of the book, unless it be in the passage I am about to mention.

The well-known story in Book II. of the *Choice of Heracles* is of especial interest, and as there is a question whether and how far the language is that of Xenophon, or Prodicus, or (as I understand Gilbert, the Teubner editor, to say) some third person, I have thought it worth while to set down here the words in it that have a more or less Xn. character, referring the reader to previous articles for more information about them. The story occupies four pages in the Teubner text, and just as many in the new Oxford edition.

*Mem.* 2. 1. 21. *ἐπεί* of time. 22. *εὐπρεπής* good-looking, *ὄμμα* twice, *θαμά*. 23. *πρόσθεν*, *τερπνά*. 24. *τέρπομαι*, *εὐφραίνομαι*, *ἀπόνως* (X. is always keen on *φιλοπονία*). 27. *ἦπερ*. 28. *ἔθελω* = *βούλομαι* (*Anab.* 4. 4. 6), *αὔξω*, *σύν*. 29. *εὐφροσύνη*. 30. *τλήμων*. 31. *ἀπόνως* again. 32. *εὐμενής*. 33. *ἄμοχθος*, *γεραίτεροι*, *ἀγάλλομαι*, *πεπρωμένος* (*Hell.* 6. 3. 6.), *τοκεῖς*. To these we may add as in some degree of like nature (30) *καθυπνοῦν* (31), *ἀθέατος* (32), *συλλήπτρια* (32), *χωρίς ἐμοῦ* (32), *μακαριστός*, *Ἡσυχία* (21), a *solitary place*, *solitude*, is also noticeable.

The passage is highly elaborated, and—that is why there are so many of these words occurring in it, quite out of proportion to the average number. We know of course nothing about the style of Prodicus, except that he was nice in his choice of words and careful, perhaps over careful, in discriminating synonyms. No doubt on such a theme he too may have used some of these words. Socrates is made to say of him (34), in words curiously like those of the *Theaetetus* 168 c about Protagoras, that he used *ἐπι μεγαλειότη-ροισ ῥήμασιν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν*. But the coincidence of all these Xn. expressions, taken along with many other Xn. touches in the passage, leaves no doubt in my mind that the writer was Xenophon, not Prodicus, nor another.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

## ARETHAS AND THE CODEX CLARKIANUS

(PLATO, *Phaedo*, 96 a-c).

In an earlier part of this *Review* (*C.R.* xvi. pp. 16, 17), Dr. E. H. Gifford suggests that the oldest corrector of the Clarke Plato derived his corrections of *Phaedo* 96 a-c from the MS. of Eusebius written by Baanes for Arethas in A.D. 914, that is to say, nineteen years after the Plato had been written for the same patron by John the Calligrapher. This is supposed to confirm the belief that the diorthotes of the *Clarkianus* and the writer of its scholia was none other than Arethas himself. I have no desire to dispute this belief, which is held by many scholars of repute. The *ἐκρησάμην* 'Αρέθας Πατρὸς of the D'Orville Euclid (which is admitted to be written by the same hand) is difficult to get over, though it is not, perhaps, inconceivable that the head of a *scriptorium* should write a *subscriptio* in his employer's name, and it is hard not to share Mr. T. W. Allen's scepticism as to the performance of such mechanical work as the numbering of sheets by Arethas himself. But, however that may be, it can be shown that Dr. Gifford's argument does not tell one way or the other.

In the first place, if we are to adopt the view that the corrections of the diorthotes are derived from Eusebius, we ought to be convinced that the readings in question do not come from any more obvious source. Now, these readings are not in any way peculiar to Eusebius; they are the readings of the great majority of Platonic MSS. In fact, it is the readings of the first hand in the *Clarkianus* (B) that are quite peculiar to that MS. and two others derived either from the same archetype or, possibly, from a copy of the *Clarkianus* itself made before diorthosis. In particular, the supposed Eusebian readings of the diorthotes (whom I shall call B<sup>2</sup>) are in every case the readings of the *Marcianus* (App. Class. 4. 1), which Schanz calls T, and also, for the most part, of Stobaeus. Unfortunately, Schanz has not edited the *Phaedo* since he discovered the importance of T, and no full collation is available. I am, therefore, obliged to show the true state of the case by the following bit of *apparatus criticus*. The readings of T are taken from a photograph in my possession. I have also re-examined the passage in the *Clarkianus* itself without finding anything new. I quote Stobaeus from Wachsmuth's edition.

*Phaedo* 96 a, 5 βούλομαι...6 κέβης B<sup>2</sup> T Stob. (6 ἐγὼ...κέβης Euseb.): om. B  
a 8 ὑπερήφανος B T: ὑπέρφρων in marg. T: ὑπερήφανον Euseb. Stob. a 9 εἶναι εἶδέναι τὰς B<sup>2</sup> T Euseb.: εἶναι τὰς B: εἶδέναι εἶναι τὰς Stob. airas B Stob.: γρ. airas in marg. T: ἰστορίας T Theodoretus b 1 πρῶτον τὰ B<sup>2</sup> T Euseb. Stob.: b 2 καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν B<sup>2</sup> T Euseb. Stob.: καὶ ψυχρὸν B b 9 κατὰ ταῦτα B Euseb. Stob.: καὶ ταῦτα T c 2 οὐρανὸν τε καὶ B<sup>2</sup> T Euseb. Stob.: οὐρανὸν καὶ B c 6 ὥστε ἀπέμαθον καὶ ταῦτα ἃ πρὸ τοῦ ἔμην εἶδέναι B<sup>2</sup> T Euseb.: ὥστε ἃ ποτ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἃ πρὸ τοῦ ἔμην εἶδέναι B.

Now B<sup>2</sup> is older than T, so that T cannot be the source of his corrections. On the other hand, T is independent of B and B<sup>2</sup>, as has been clearly proved by Schanz and others. I may add to this proof that B<sup>2</sup> also wrote the scholia in the *Clarkianus*, and that the scholia of T are quite different. It is only the later hands that write B scholia in T or T scholia in B.

In the second place, if we are to believe that the corrections of B<sup>2</sup> in *Phaedo* 96 a-c come from Eusebius, we ought to be convinced that there are no such corrections to be found in passages not quoted by Eusebius or other writers whose works we may reasonably suppose to have existed in the library of Arethas. What we do find is the very reverse. John the Calligrapher is continually making mistakes of the same type as those to be found in the passage from the *Phaedo*, and these are very often corrected by B<sup>2</sup>. These corrections are not conjectural; for they are identical as a rule with the readings of T. Surely the inference is that the diorthosis of the *Clarkianus* was made from an older MS. now lost, from which T was also derived. That it was not the same as the MS. given out to be copied may perhaps be implied by the fairly common ἐν ἄλλῳ, but it is not very probable that ἐν ἄλλῳ at *Phaedo* 96 c, 7 means 'in my copy of Eusebius' and something quite different elsewhere.

Whatever view we may hold as to the identification of B<sup>2</sup> with Arethas, we may dismiss the idea that his corrections come from the codex of Eusebius written by Baanes; for he was clearly in a position to correct the mistakes of B without such help.

JOHN BURNET.

## INTERROGATIVE COMMANDS.

As Professor Sonnenschein, in his paper on this subject, has referred to something which I wrote on οὐ μὴ in *C.R.* vol. x., may I be allowed to add this?

The liveliness of *Quin abi!* (imperative in form) for *Quin abis?* (imperative in meaning)—as if we began politely with an interrogative, and ended with kicking our friend downstairs—seems to me hardly to carry with it the possibility of *Nonne abi!* for *Nonne abis?*—to say nothing of the further difficulty caused by the prohibitive ('won't you—don't!') How we should be scared if, as the right reading for οὐκ ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλασσαν τρήρων; οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἤδη πορεύσεσθε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ καθέλξετε τὰς ναῦς; some Egyptian mummy-wrapping were to offer us οὐκ ἐμπλήσατε...οὐ πορεύθητε...οὐ καθέλκασατε! And yet how is οὐ δρᾶ or οὐ μὴ δρᾶ worse than οὐ μὴ δράσης = *nonne ne feceris?*

But, again, it must be maintained that the prohibitive form is not οὐ μὴ δράσης but οὐ μὴ δράσεις. Professor Goodwin, it is true, regarding οὐ μὴ negantis and οὐ μὴ prohibentis as identical in origin, argues for occasional examples of οὐ μὴ δράσης in the prohibitive sense. Against this, I must not repeat here what I said in the paper to which Professor Sonnenschein refers. I believe the prohibitive form is *always* future, the question of reading being always between η and ε, except in *Nub.* 296, where ποιήσεις being written ποιήσης has led, I suppose, to the error of σκώψης for σκώψει. Professor Sonnenschein (who writes ης and η, both for future and subjunctive) seems to think that the subjunctive is the normal form, and the future exceptional. But, when he finds οὐ μὴ καταβήσκει, or οὐ μὴ δυσμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις, or οὐ μὴ προσόσεις χεῖρα, or οὐκ εἰ σύ τ' οἴκους, σύ τε Κρέων κατὰ στέγας, καὶ μὴ τὸ μηδὲν ἄλγος εἰς μέγ' οἴσετε, he sticks to his theory, and says μὴ ἔσει, μὴ προσόσεις, etc., are also pro-

hibitive. This notion of a prohibitive μὴ with future indicative (Goodwin, *M.T.* § 70) is certainly untenable, and cannot be supported by φυλάξετε-καὶ-μὴ-βουλήσεσθε ('you will take-care-and-not-wish') Dem. *Aristocr.* § 117, and the similar sentence in Lysias, *Or.* 29 § 13 (Bekker 19): with which may be compared *Gorg.* 510 d, τίνα ἂν τρόπον ἐγὼ μέγα δυνάμην καὶ μηδείας με ἀδικοῖ;

I come back to the explanation—as οὐ μενεῖς; = μένε, so οὐ μὴ μενεῖς; = μὴ μένε. This is not only an absolutely simple and satisfactory explanation in itself, but it is, I hold, necessitated by sentences like οὐ μὴ μενεῖς ἀλλ' ἄπει; and οὐκ ἄπει μηδὲ λαλήσεις; (See Professor Jebb on οὐ σίγ' ἀνέξει μηδὲ δειλίαν ἄρει; *At.* 75.)

Professor Sonnenschein complains that I make no attempt to explain why the second negative in οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις; (will you not cease talking?) is μὴ and not οὐ. Is it not enough to say that the reason is the same as for μὴ in μὴ λάλει (cease talking), itself? Much trouble is caused by assuming that there is a special value in μὴ. Really, it is οὐ that has a special value, that of negative assertion. Wherever for any reason assertion is unsuitable, the negative used is μὴ. I said, on p. 244, in the paper referred to (*C.R.* vol. x.), 'μὴ is the "not" which avoids assertion...in εἰ μὴ ἔχει, or ὁ μὴ ἔχων, or μὴ ἔχων, or μὴ δρᾶ, or μὴ δράσης, or οὐ μὴ δράσεις;' And I enlarged upon this in an examination of φυλάξετε καὶ μὴ βουλήσεσθε, and other instructive irregularities in the use of μὴ, in *C.R.* vol. ii., p. 322. Οὐκ...οὐ μενεῖς; if we could have it, would mean 'Is it not the case that you *will not* remain?' (= οὐκ ἀληθές, or δῆλόν, ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐ μενεῖς;) But the οὐ = *nonne* of οὐ μὴ μενεῖς; exhorts or commands us to *do* something, viz. to *not-remain*; and requires μὴ, just as ὅπως μὴ μενεῖς, with the same meaning, requires it.

R. WHITELAW.

## CICERO ON THE EPICUREAN GODS.

GIUSSANI's prolegomena to his valuable edition of Lucretius contains a long chapter on 'The Gods of Epicurus and Isonomia.' Here Giussani propounds a theory first set forth by Lachelier<sup>1</sup> and Scott<sup>2</sup> and further

developed by himself. His own view is ingenious and novel and is worth examining. To understand his theory, the previous criticisms of the difficult and

Gods, *Journal of Philology*, 1883, pp. 212-247. Mr. Scott has here worked out the theory with great learning and ingenuity.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue de Philologie*, 1877, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Physical Constitution of the Epicurean



corrupt texts bearing on Epicurean theology must be taken into account. I hope ere long to discuss the subject in full elsewhere.

Epicurus must have treated the subject of the Gods at length but, evidently, in a way which too much taxed the patience of his opponents, who may have some excuse for not thoroughly grasping his point of view. Light was first thrown on the subject by Schoemann in his admirable paper 'On the Theology of Epicurus,'<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Mayor in his excellent commentary on Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* has grappled fairly and fully with all the difficulties of the question and has left the subject much clearer than he found it.

Lachelier's theory is based upon a passage of Cicero which is so vague in expression that the interpretation is almost hopelessly difficult. Schoemann says that Cicero himself could not have understood what he wrote here. All scholars agree that Cicero is here translating from a Greek original. It appears to me certain that he is not merely translating but also attempting to condense and give the gist of a passage which baffled his understanding or, probably, which he grudged taking the pains to understand. He begins by referring sarcastically to Epicurus's definition of the Divine nature as one too subtle for an average mind to understand and apologises for the briefness with which he is going to set it forth. Probably every clause of his Latin represents a sentence at least in the Greek. Cotta, the Academic critic, referring to the Divine images, says 'If you yourselves who defend the doctrine understood it, I should then be ashamed to say I do not understand it' (§ 109). Thus Cicero warns us broadly enough that his account of the subject must be received with caution.

The passage runs: Haec quamquam et inventa sunt acutius et dicta subtilius ab Epicuro, quam ut quivis ea possit agnoscere,<sup>2</sup> tamen fretus intelligentia vestra dissero brevius quam causa desiderat. Epicurus autem, qui res occultas et penitus abditas non modo viderit animo, sed etiam sic tractet, ut manu, docet eam esse vim et naturam deorum, ut primum non sensu, sed mente cernatur, nec soliditate quadam neque eadem ad numerum sit,<sup>3</sup> ut ea, quae ille propter firmitatem *στερέμια* appellat: sed,

<sup>1</sup> *De Epicuri Theologia*, Opuscula, vol. iv. pp. 336-359. Hirzel also discusses the subject with his usual acuteness, 'Untersuchungen zu Cicero's Philosophischen Schriften,' Part I. 1877.

<sup>2</sup> Not 'too hard for anyone to understand' but 'for every one,' i.e. for the average person.

<sup>3</sup> Mayor inserts the words eadem., .sit.

imaginibus similitudine et transitione<sup>4</sup> perceptis, cum infinita simillimarum imaginum series<sup>5</sup> ex innumerabilibus individuis exsistat et ad nos<sup>6</sup> affluat, eum<sup>7</sup> maximis voluptatibus in eas imagines mentem intentam infixamque nostram intelligentiam capere, quae sit et beata natura et aeterna<sup>8</sup> (De Nat. D. I. 49).

The careless scribes who altered ad nos first to ad eos and then to ad deos have called forth much wasted ingenuity.

The conclusion is forced upon me that Cicero has confused the word *σώματα* which he found in his original in the sense 'the Divine bodies' with *σώματα* in its common sense, 'atoms.' He repeats this misunderstanding later at § 105 where Cotta, the critic of the Academy, repeats his opponent's definition of the Divine being, before criticising it, in the same order as at § 49, while in his final clause mens nostra confirms us in reading ad nos.

Sic enim dicebas speciem Dei percipi cogitatione, non sensu, nec esse in ea ullam soliditatem neque eandem ad numerum permanere, eamque esse ejus visionem ut similitudine et transitione cernatur, neque deficiat unquam ex infinitis corporibus similitum accessio, ex eoque fieri ut in haec intenta mens nostra beatam illam naturam et sempiternam putet.

(Similitudine and transitione imply the word imaginum which must be supplied with similitum.)

How could images be produced from 'atoms'? Images can only come from a 'thing,' here a form in human shape. Is it possible that the text at § 49 has become corrupt and that for ex innumerabilibus individuis we ought to read ex innumerabilibus corporibus divinis, the words divinus and individuus being at times confused in the MSS.? Immediately after this passage (in § 50) Cicero shews that the number of

<sup>4</sup> Transitione. The context would seem to require continuatio, 'a continued series' rather than transitione. It is only the continued stream of images which can cause perception: singly, these images are imperceptible. See Lucr. iv. 87-9: 104-9: 256 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. read species. I follow Brieger's excellent emendation which seems almost required by affluat. See Mayor's note. If Cicero wrote species, it would only be in keeping with the vagueness of the whole passage.

<sup>6</sup> The MSS. have deos: one or two eos. The correction is due to Lambinus.

<sup>7</sup> Giussani changes cum to tum and makes this word the beginning of a new sentence (*Studi Lucreziani*, p. 259).

<sup>8</sup> Schoemann reads quae sit et beatae naturae et aeternae: but the words as they stand give the necessary meaning: 'what that being is which is at once blessed and eternal.'



immortal beings is as countless as that of mortals. It is more probable that we have to deal at § 49 with a careless translation than with a corruption, but it seems not too bold to say that Cicero's Greek original there had 'from the countless Divine bodies.' Doubtless the never-ceasing flow of Divine images presupposes an infinity of matter, but it presupposes still more directly an infinite number of Gods.

Epicurus uses the word *σπερμια* to denote 'solid bodies.'<sup>1</sup> It could not be applied, for example, to the *εἰδωλα* which are films, having comparatively no depth. Scott says 'The clause (ut ea quae ille propter firmitatem *σπερμια* appellat) would seem to assert that the Gods are of the nature of *εἰδωλα* rather than of tangible bodies or are *surfaces* rather than *solids*. And this agrees perfectly with what we are told elsewhere about the quasi-corpus of the Gods.' He then quotes Cotta's saying that the Divine bodies have nihil concreti, nihil solidi, nihil expressi, nihil eminentis (§ 75) and says that other contemptuous references by opponents (e.g. I. 123 lineamentis dumtaxat extremis, non habitu solido: II. 59 monogrammos deos, 'Gods in outline': de Div. II. 40, deos perlucidos et perflabiles) all suggest beings having *shape* or *outline*, but not *bulk*. The aim of such sarcastic references is by exaggeration to make the Gods of Epicurus a butt for ridicule: they cannot be taken literally and used for evidence. If the bodies of the Gods must not be called 'solid,' it is not because they are 'films,' but because their texture is too ethereal.

Scott explains the passage thus: 'The Gods, though material, are not firm and solid like the gross bodies of men and visible things, but of a far finer texture. They have not *numerical* or *material* but only formal identity; in other words, the matter of which they are composed, instead of remaining fixed and identically the same through a finite space of time, as is the case with visible and tangible objects, is *perpetually passing away to be replaced by fresh matter*, the *form* or arrangement of matter alone remaining unchanged. They are formed by perpetual successions of "images" or material films, of precisely similar form, which, having arisen (in some unexplained way) out of the infinite atoms dispersed through the universe, stream to a sort of focus and there, by their meeting constitute for a moment, the being of the gods: then streaming away again in all directions, they pass into the (material) mind of man.'

<sup>1</sup> Diog. L. x. 50.

Scott, following Hirzel, quotes from Aristotle to shew that 'nec ad numerum' represents the Greek *κατ' ἀριθμὸν* as opposed to *κατ' εἶδος*. The former phrase denotes a thing which is permanently the same in its material substance, like the pond, as opposed to that which changes in matter but remains the same in form alone (*ταὐτὸ κατ' εἶδος*) like the river. The Divine body is like the river.

The images which form the Divine bodies arise out of infinite matter 'in some unexplained way,' says Lachelier. Mr. Scott says, 'No clear explanation of the origin of the images can be given.' The images pass 'from the places where they take their rise to the point where by their meeting they constitute, for a moment, the Divine being and from that point again to the human mind.' But, before all else, it is necessary for the proof of such a theory to explain *how* the images come into being. According to Epicurus no 'image' can be produced from anything but a 'thing' or compound substance (*res*): atoms can never, even if infinite in number produce an image in human form except through the medium of a human being.

How can we reconcile such fanciful abstractions as these with the harmless Epicurean gods who enjoy all good things and constantly meditate on their own happiness? Lucretius states that 'Nature supplies all the needs of the gods' in the intermundia. Philodemus asserts that they require and use food; statements which cannot well apply to bodies which are mere superficies. How can beings whose body is merely surface without bulk continue to throw off in such constant streams those Divine images which, however rare, are still material? Why should the focuses at which the images meet have the power to generate a Divine body in human likeness from matter which, the next moment is flying from them in the shape of Divine images? What use have such phantoms as these, who have no individual existence or personality, for speech and philosophic converse, which Philodemus insists they enjoy? Again, had Scott's notion been true, is it likely that not one of the many critics who make merry over Epicurus's theology would have exploited these Deities-in-flux on the humorous side? But the whole theory insults the ingenuity of Epicurus who could easily, if put to it, have devised something far more plausible. Epicurus was the last man to have thought to satisfy the human craving for Gods who may be worshipped with mere abstractions

of this kind. Scott has said, 'All that we find in Lucretius is an unfulfilled promise to treat the subject later, as though he had postponed it from a consciousness of its difficulty.' No wonder he feels it necessary to add the comment that 'Lucretius had not as yet carefully studied or fully understood the Epicurean doctrine of the Divine Nature.'

One objection is sufficient by itself to discredit Scott and Giussani's theory: it annihilates one central doctrine of Epicureanism. To Epicurus the flow of the Divine images into our minds is proof positive that Gods exist. But if the Divine images arise 'in some unexplained way' from the atoms, why should they not flow directly into our minds? Why assume at all that they first meet together and form Divine bodies? On this theory the images cease to be a proof that Gods exist. They could only prove the existence of—images. Thus Epicurus's whole theology falls to the ground.

Brieger's wide knowledge of Epicurean doctrine enables him to criticise Giussani shrewdly here. Brieger, however, accepts his view in part. 'Giussani,' he says, 'compares the Divine body to a waterfall, the appearance of which remains the same while the water forming it changes every moment. A Being existing in this fashion is immortal, if the influx of homogeneous matter does not cease, for every interruption of that which subsists in a constant 'Becoming' is without enduring effect, 'like a shot fired into a waterfall.' That such Beings can exist is testified by Philodemus *περί εὐσεβείας*—Gomperz, *Hercul. Stud.* p. 110. So far Giussani is undoubtedly right.<sup>1</sup> The sentence of Philodemus referred to is quite insufficient to justify such a statement: the interpretations extorted from it differ very widely; its meaning is simply a riddle.<sup>2</sup> This and other fragments of Philodemus suggest that Epicureanism had developed a new terminology since its founder's day.

Another passage in *Diog. L.*, X. 139 is also more or less corrupt and almost as vague and difficult to understand as that in Cicero. It is a slipshod comment of his own which Diogenes adds after the first of the κύρια δόξαι.

ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ θεοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητοῦς,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jahresh. über class. Alt.* 1900, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Scott's version, made by dint of transpositions, &c., may be found in *J. of Phil.* p. 232: that of Giussani, who does not adopt these changes, at *Studi Lucrez.* p. 261. (Giussani's ἀποπλείσθαι seems a misprint).

<sup>3</sup> Gassendi reads οὐ μὲν...ὥς δὲ and translates thus: Aliis vero in locis ait Deos (non sensu sed) mente cerni ipsosque non (soliditate quadam) con-

οὺς μὲν [οὐ μὲν Schoemann] κατ' ἀριθμὸν ὑφιστάτας, οὺς δὲ [γνωστοὺς δὲ Schoemann] κατὰ ὁμοείδειαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐπιρρύσεως τῶν ὁμοίων ἐδώλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτελεσμένους ἀνθρωποειδέας.<sup>4</sup>

It looks as if both Cicero and Diogenes had been puzzled by the same original and had both tried to give its drift in brief. The slovenly-worded sentence has been supposed to mean that Epicurus believed in two classes of gods. Usener, somewhat arbitrarily, omits it as a scholion. Schoemann's brilliant emendation γνωστοὺς is based on the principle that the human mind can apprehend the Gods because the substance of both is the same, namely the finest atoms: it would mean that the Gods 'are discerned by the mind owing to the likeness of their substance.'

Mayor accepts the passage as genuine and thinks it may refer to an esoteric and an exoteric Epicurean theology so that 'we may apparently assume that Epicurus himself or some of his followers acknowledged a divinity of a more spiritual type, distinct from those in the intermundia. An attentive consideration of Cicero's language forces on the reader the conclusion that there were two distinct systems of theology recognised in the Epicurean school, one of a more esoteric nature, taken mainly from their great authority, Democritus, the other more suited to the popular belief: which two systems have, not unnaturally, been confounded together by Cicero.'<sup>5</sup>

There is, however, no reliable evidence for any such esoteric Epicurean theology.

sistenteis aut (distinctione) numerabileis, verumtamen similitudine quasi hominiformeis, propter affluxum continentem imaginum ad exhibendum menti nostrae talem naturam comparatarum. Hirzel (p. 73) reads οὗς μὲν...οὗς δὲ and understands the words as referring on the one hand to the true Gods who dwell in the intermundia and, on the other, to the Divine images. We know that Democritus did to some extent regard the Divine εἰδωλα as having a certain independent existence. It may be due to a remembrance of Democritus that Cicero on two occasions speaks as if, for the moment, he regarded the flying Divine images as equivalent to Deity and as eternal (*De Nat. Deorum*, i. 109 and ii. 76), but Hirzel puts an extreme strain upon these mere allusions. Cicero knows well that the Epicurean Gods are altogether outside the world.

<sup>4</sup> Schoemann explains ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτελεσμένους to mean the same thing as Cotta's words in Cicero § 49 fluentium frequenter transizione visionem fieri ut e multis una videatur. He adds Nam recte ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ [sc. ἀποτελεσμα] ἀποτελεῖσθαι dici poterant τὰ εἰδωλα quorum effectus (hoc est enim ἀποτελεσμα) unus idemque esset ut forma divina humanae non absimilis (ἀνθρωποειδῶς) animo insinuaretur (p. 357).

<sup>5</sup> On Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, i. § 49, pp. 148 and 147 (note).

Until we can find the original which Cicero so hastily summarised, we shall probably never understand either how Epicurus conceived the material being of his Gods or what Cicero meant in § 49. That passage, as it stands, is a slough

in which ingenious explanations without number have merely been swallowed up.

In another article I hope to discuss Giussani's view.

JOHN MASSON.

### VIRGIL AND CALPURNIUS.

Verg. georg. iii 400—403.

quod surgente die mulsero horisque diurnis,  
nocte premunt; quod iam tenebris et sole  
cadente,  
sub lucem exportant calathis (adit oppida  
pastor),  
aut parco sale contingunt hiemique  
reponunt.

This reading of u. 402 was first attacked by Scaliger on Catull. 61 219: 'omnium poetarum principem ita interrupte cum suis parentibus loquentem faciunt, ne in iure apud grammaticum tribunal soloecismi postuletur. atqui una litterula mutanda germanam Vergilii lectionem effeceris:

sub lucem exportans calathis adit oppida  
pastor.'

It is indiscreet of Conington to quote in defence Aen. i 150 'furor arma ministrat' and to say that it is 'similarly thrown in to account for what has just been said': 'adit oppida pastor' does *not* account for what has just been said, but amplifies it, which is not the office of parenthesis; and Aen. i 150 'iamque faces et saxa uolant (furor arma ministrat)' is a telling contrast and a good example of parenthesis appropriately used. The change of *-ns* to *-nt* is easy everywhere (Ribbeck prol. pp. 255 sq. cites Aen. iii 527, 651, viii 45, ix 130, x 417, 540, 696) and was here the easier for *premunt* standing above; and *exportans* is now actually found in the scholia Bernensia and is admitted into the text by Wagner, Ribbeck, and Haupt.

It amends the language, but the sense it does not amend. 'The morning's milk is made into cheese at night': so far so good. 'The evening's milk'—now we are going to hear that the evening's milk is made into cheese at some other time, or that it is not made into cheese—'the evening's milk is either carried to town at daybreak in baskets or else salted and put by for the winter.'

But the stuff men carry in baskets and salt for the winter is cheese, not milk; so it appears that the evening's milk as well as the morning's (they do not get much sleep in this dairy) is made into cheese at night. Was it then simply in order to turn round and laugh at us that you led us to suppose the contrary? But to proceed: you have now told us that the cheese from the evening's milk is sold or salted: what are we to infer about the cheese from the morning's milk? The natural inference is that something else becomes of it; and if so we should like to know what. But you are so playful to-day that we dare not draw the natural inference, for fear you should turn round and laugh at us again: perhaps we had best assume that there is no difference in destination, as there seemingly was none in manufacture, between these two batches of cheese which you so carefully distinguish. This is didactic poetry: 'the morning's milk is made into cheese at night (never mind what afterwards becomes of it); the evening's milk (never mind what happens in the interval) is carried to town next morning in cheese-baskets or salted for winter eating.' 'The horse has four legs; the mare has two ears and a tail'.

I do not know if it was Fea in 1799 who first proposed the amended punctuation

quod surgente die mulsero horisque diurnis,  
nocte premunt; quod iam tenebris et sole  
cadente,  
sub lucem: exportans calathis adit oppida  
pastor,  
aut parco sale contingunt hiemique  
reponunt.

i.e. 'quod mane mulsero, nocte premunt; quod uesperi mulsero, sub lucem premunt: caseum partim uendunt partim hiemi reponunt.' The omission of *mulsero* in 401 gives the reader fair warning that *premunt* will be omitted in 402; there is no inequality in the singular 'exportans adit oppida

pastor' (=mittunt pastorem ad oppida exportantem) beside the plurals 'contingunt' and 'reponunt'; in short the whole sentence is so lucid and well-balanced that it is sure to be called unpoetical and un-Virgilian. Nevertheless I believe the verses were thus read and understood by a poet, and a Virgilian poet, much earlier than any of our MSS. The imitation, like the model, has been corrupted, but in another part: put them side by side and they emend one another.

Calp. v 32—35.

at, si forte uaces, dum matutina relaxat  
frigora sol, tumidis spument tibi mulctra  
papillis.  
implebis, quod mane fluat; rursusque  
premetur  
mane, quod occiduae mulsura redegerit horae.

*implebis* in u. 34 has no meaning, and Haupt writes 'tumidis spumantia mulctra papillis | *implebit*, quod mane fluat' with a strange tautology,—'quod mane fluat implebit mulctra dum sol matutina frigora

relaxat'; Vlitius' *inde premes* is not much better. Calpurnius is saying what Virgil said and saying it in the selfsame way:

in tenebris, quod mane fluat, rursusque  
premetur  
mane, quod occiduae mulsura redegerit  
horae.

*intebis, intrebis, implebis*. The loss of *en* before *eb* has again corrupted this word at Manil. iii 645 'lucis aequantia signa diebus', where Scaliger roughly alters *lucis* to *noctes*, Barthius and Bentley more skilfully *diebus* to *tenebris*: *tebris* looked like *iebus*. 'rursus' will of course mean 'uice uersa', not 'iterum': 'in tenebris premetur, quod mane fluat, rursusque mane, quod uesperis'.

A similar echo in later poetry confirms the true punctuation of Aen. iv 683 sq. 'date uulnera lymphis | abluam'. Ovid's imitation met. xiii 531 sq. 'uulnera lymphis | abluere' is quoted by the editors; but add Auson. ephem. 2 5 sq. 'da rore fontano abluam | manus et os et lumina'.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

#### NOTES ON HORACE ODES, BOOK I.

##### 9. 5. *ligna super foco large reponens*.

The force of *re-in reponens* is here something more definite than is given by the rendering 'duly placing.' Two stages of meaning may be observed in the word: (1) (more definitely), placing a thing in exchange for something else; (2) (more generally), placing a thing where it ought to be, 'duly placing.' The present is an instance of the former use; replacing the burnt out logs by new ones, 'making up the fire.' Exactly similar is *reddo* in Pl. Most. 110; the old tiles have come off, *dominus indiligens reddere alias neuolt*. In the next ode comes an instance of the other and more general meaning of *reponere*: *tu pias laetis animas reponis sedibus*; the pious shades are restored to their proper abode, heaven.

20. 10. *Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno tu bibes uuam*: On this passage I had a suggestion to make, which I still think it may be worth while to put forward, although I feel it very possible that Mr. Ensor has hit on what will be accepted as the true solution. But I still feel some hesitation in accepting

a view that implies in the last stanza a distinction between different kinds of expensive wines—'I have Caecuban and Calene; I don't keep Falernian or Formian.' It seems to me more probable that the names are all used generically, and selected to give local colour. Moreover they are carefully paired, Caecuban and Formian being growths of Latium, while Calene and Falernian are growths of Campania, and the chiasmic order looks rather suspiciously ornamental. I should put a note of interrogation after *uuam*; 'do you suppose you are going to drink, etc.' But probably *bibes* should be altered to *bibas*, making the question of the same form as *tu pulses?* (Satt. II. vi. 30) etc. This view would imply that *poto* in line 1 and *bibo* in line 10 are synonymous; but the Editor's remarks (*C.R.* pp. 113 foll.) raise here a new point for consideration.

37. 4. *tempus erat*. In *C.R.* III. 75, Mr. T. E. Page illustrates these words by Martial 4. 33. There may also be adduced Livy viii, 5. 3 *tempus erat tandem iam uos nobiscum nihil pro imperio agere*. In all these



places the idea is present that the time is too late, or the occasion is unsuitable, for the proposal to be a practical one; cf. Conington on Verg. *Ecl.* I 79 *poterat*. It was hardly, perhaps, for the poet to propose a *lectisternium*. At any rate Horace was not driven to use 'erat' by metrical considera-

tions; he might easily have written 'adest' if he had chosen; as likewise it was no metrical necessity that made him omit the preposition in *Scriberis Vario*, when he could so easily have written *Scribere a Vario*.

E. S. THOMPSON.

May, 1902.

#### AN EMENDATION OF PERSIUS.

hoc satis? an deceat pulmonem rumpere  
uentis  
stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis  
censoremue tuum uel quod trabeate salutas?  
Persius, *Satires* iii. 27 sqq.

The correctness of the MS tradition of the last line has long been doubted: but no probable emendation has been proposed. We would suggest for the corrupt *ue tuum* the slight alteration *uetulum*.

As we understand from the Editor of the *Classical Review* that the conjecture has been communicated to him by each of us independently, we gladly accede to his request that it should be published over our joint names.

A. C. CLARK.

A. B. COOK.

A. B. KEITH.

#### ON TACITUS *AGRICOLA* 28.

A COHORT of the Usipi stationed obviously in West Britain, mutinied, murdered their officers, and seized three galleys belonging to the Roman fleet (in which they attempted to return to their country), 'adactis per vim gubernatoribus.' The MSS. then have 'et uno remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur.' Here 'et uno remigante' is of course absurd. The easiest correction seems to me to be *et uno <regente> remigantes*. The one surviving captain steered the first galley, and the others followed it, probably attached by hawsers. Thus they coasted round Britain (it is uncertain whether they went round the Land's End or round Scotland, probably the latter); then apparently they tried to sail in order to cross the North Sea, four were wrecked

on the coast of the Low Countries. Tacitus says 'amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus.' It is no wonder that the ships were lost, as there was only one seaman in the three, but critics have supposed that 'per inscitiam regendi' implies that this surviving seaman was absent from the outset, and have tried to correct 'uno remigante' in this sense (uno refugo, ante suspectis &c., Urlich, is the best attempt). It is surely not necessary to force the point, and *remigante* is almost sure to be genuine. If Tacitus must be made as consistent as the critics wish, we may write *amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus <duabus>*, or we may, as he tells us that the mutineers were obliged to resort to cannibalism, assume that they had unwisely eaten the skipper.

W. R. PATON.



## NOTES.

ἀτρέμα (ἀτρεμέ) = SLIGHTLY.—Can any of your readers exactly parallel this use of the word as found in the following fragments cited by Athenaeus?—

- (1) κυλίκιον  
ὕδαρες ὁ παῖς περιῆγε τοῦ πενταβόλου  
ἀτρέμα παρεξιστηκός (Lycophron ap. Ath. 420 B).
- (2) τὰ κρεῖδι' ἔσται τ' οὐκ ἀπεξηραμμένα,  
ἔγχευα δ' ἀτρεμέ καὶ δροσώδη τὴν σχένιν  
(Alexis ap. Ath. 383 D).

In both passages it will be seen that the word is applied to the table, and is possibly a colloquial usage. ἦκα is used in this sense, but not apparently ἀτρέμας, and the nearest approach I can find to our fragments in Tragedy is Eur. Bacch. 1072, where the meanings of *gently* and *slightly* easily glide into one another, as in English. Not unlike in Latin is Caesar's *collis leniter* acclivis and *loco leniter* declivi (Bell. Gall. 7. 19, 83), while *ventus leniter* pluvius which Lewis and Short quote from Pliny would seem to correspond very closely with the Greek idiom above. Liddell and Scott give no hint of the usage at all.

W. F. R. SHILLETO.

Oxford: May, 1902.

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ASCIOS: EXUMBRES.—In *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (MS. No. 144) edited by J. H. Hessel. Cambr. University Press, 1890, art. A 838 is *ascios: exumbres*. I have found the source of this gloss (*exumbris* is new to lexicons) in a translation of Basil's hexaëmeron (*Eustathiana interpretatio hexaëm.* (book vi. ch. 8, in Gaume's reprint, Paris 1839, of Garnier's Benedictine edition, vol. i. p. 950 col. 2bc): *nam et putealis apud eos aqua viz tenuissimum potest in alveum de sole lumen accipere, propter quod eos quidam ASCIOS, id est EXUMBRES appellant.*

In Dr. Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Murray, 1880, vol. ii. p. 383 b E.V. (my late friend Edmund Venables) says 'A spurious commentary on the *Hexaëmeron* bearing his name' [that of Eustathius of Antioch] 'is also printed by Migne.' I know not why Migne should be given credit for what was brought to light long before he was born. Plainly Canon Venables never looked at the book, or he would have seen that *interpretatio* means not 'commentary' but 'translation.' If he had consulted Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Latinitatis mediae... aetatis* he would have learnt from Cassiodorus that in this version Basil's most interesting treatise was familiar to monastic libraries.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

## RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C.R.* 1902, P. 94.)

IN continuation of my last report (written in the middle of January) I give a short summary of the discoveries that have been made in the Forum during the interval.

I.—*Temple of Castor and Pollux, etc.*

The remains of what appears to be a triumphal arch of a late date have been discovered at the south corner of the Basilica Julia, spanning the road which ran along its S.W. side and along the back of the temple of Castor and Pollux. This road has not been excavated further to the N.W. behind the Basilica: on the other hand, the isolation of the temple of Castor and Pollux has now been completed. From the breadth of the foundations, and from the discovery of several fragments of the columns of the temple and of the corner of the pediment at the back, it is clear that the temple was peripteral. In this particular the *Forma Urbis* is incorrect, as it represents the temple as having no columns at the back. This fact had, however, been already ascertained by Fea in 1818 (*Frammenti dei Fasti*. tav. ii. p. xi. *Not. Scav.* 1882, 234 and tav. xiv.).

Work is now proceeding at the west corner of the Augusteum; a wall of opus quadratum just discovered belongs probably to a taberna on the S.E. side of the Vicus Tuscus. It is intended to explore the area between the Augusteum and the church of S. Teodoro, where the entrance to the Palatine is at present situated. See Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 120-122 and Fig. 47. Close to the triumphal arch mentioned above a drain, which runs diagonally across the Augusteum from the centre of the S.E. side, and leaves it near its north angle, joins the cloaca of the Vicus Tuscus. It is probably earlier in date than the Augusteum, being in some parts built of opus quadratum.

II.—*Atrium Vestae.*

Excavations in the central peristyle have led to the discovery of two piscinae. The smaller of these is situated at the N.W. end of the court: it is lined with opus signinum, and has a small flight of steps leading into it at the west angle: it is about two feet in depth. Under its cement floor a pavement belonging to the earlier house has been discovered (see also below). The drain which serves as an outlet to the piscina leaves it near the north angle, and is remarkably

large in proportion to the size of the piscina. The larger tank is situated immediately to the S.E., the interval between the two being only about five feet: it is of almost the same width as the smaller but a good deal longer, and was four feet in depth and lined with slabs of white marble. Many fragments of the upper part of its walls have been found, and have been restored to their original position. They had been broken away when the piscina was filled up, at the time of the construction of the octagonal shrine (?) in the centre of the peristyle, the foundations of which cut across the S.E. end of the piscina. It is a curious fact that this tank does not lie in the centre of the peristyle: no traces of another corresponding with it, further to the S.E., have been discovered, and the piscina at the S.E. end is of about the same size as that at the N.W. end, and perhaps contemporary with it, the two having been substituted for the one larger piscina after its destruction by the building of the octagonal edifice.

Further traces of the earlier Atrium (C.R. 1899, 467) have been brought to light on the N.E. side of the small piscina at the N.W. end. They include a good black and white mosaic pavement adjacent to a floor of blocks of tufa, and repaired very roughly with cubes taken from some other pavement which had deeper tesserae, and laid longitudinally: a pavement in this last style, with square pieces of dark marble at intervals, has also been uncovered in front of the later entrance. It is surprising to find such rough work in the earlier Atrium Vestae.

In the latest period of the existence of the Atrium, the colonnade, at any rate on the lower level (the upper colonnade probably continued to exist—see Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 228) had apparently been superseded by a wall pierced by arches at intervals. Remains of this wall may be traced between, and sometimes upon, the travertine cushions of the column bases. The columns themselves, which were of cipollino, were sawn up into strips and used for paving and wall-facing slabs. This state of things must have come about after one of the fires which had devastated the Atrium and destroyed a great proportion of the cipollino columns. Lanciani (*loc. cit.*) notes that the breccia corallina columns of the upper storey resist the action of fire.

The rooms at the N.W. end of the later Atrium have now been completely cleared out. At the north corner is a room containing an oven, probably used for baking

the grain for the *mola salsa* for sacrificial purposes.

At the west corner are several rooms which seem to have been shut off from the rest of the building, and perhaps served for the more secret rites of the worship of Vesta and the custody of those sacred objects which were under the charge of the Vestals (*Not. Scav.* 1883, 441). Into the mosaic floor of one of these rooms are let a large round plate of terracotta and a small amphora, both of which are broken so as to drain into a larger amphora sunk a little deeper. This seems to be a very hasty arrangement for the pouring of libations or the offering of a sacrifice.

At the west corner of the house three flights of stairs ascend to the upper floor. Where there are two flights close together on the S.W. side, there was originally only one, which led through the doorway described in *Not. Scav.* 1899, 326.

### III.—Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

The earth has now been completely cleared away from under the steps of the temple. Foundations of earlier buildings have been brought to light, together with two more fragments (a part of the head and a piece of drapery) of the sitting statue of Faustina, which occupied a pedestal in the centre of the façade, and of which the lower part was found two years back (*Bull. Com.* 1900, 63).

In front of the temple, close to the south angle, a discovery was made at the beginning of April, which has excited more attention than any since the finding of the famous stele of the comitium in May 1899. At a depth of about 12 feet below the pavement of the Sacra Via, a tomb "a fossa" of the earliest Villanova period was found. It contained a large dolium, with both the handles which it once possessed broken off, and with a conical lid of tufa, which was also broken. Within the dolium was a smaller one-handled urn of unglazed black ware, which contained calcined bones, and had a cover precisely resembling the lid of one of the well-known hut-urns, having the rafters of the hut represented in relief. There were also several other pots, including two with raised horizontal and vertical lines, in imitation of a gourd surrounded by leather bands, and one with the *ansa cornuta*—both types characteristic not only of the tombs of the Terremare, but of the tombs "a fossa" of the necropolis of the Esquiline (*Bull. Com.* 1900,

147). The importance of the discovery is great, for the necropolis to which this tomb must belong clearly dates from a very early period, before the valley of the Forum had become the common meeting ground of the settlers on the surrounding hills. It is to be hoped that further discoveries will throw more light upon the many problems which present themselves.

#### IV.—*Sacra Via.*

On the N.E. side of the *Sacra Via*, between the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the Temple of Romulus, and extending for some way beneath the latter, a curious building has recently been uncovered. It consists of a corridor with small cells on each side of it. The walls of the corridor and of the cells are well cemented: the floors are of opus spicatum or herringbone brickwork, there are traces of two earlier floors, first one of opus spicatum, and then one of travertine (the latter possibly belonging to some other building), and the doorways are of tufa with thresholds of travertine. At about three and a half feet above the ground the outer walls of the cells become thinner on the inner side, leaving a shelf a foot wide. This probably marks the point at which the walls emerged above the ground level on the outside, and slightly above it the windows were placed. It is curious to notice that the doors to these small cells must have been hung from the top and not sideways, to judge from the absence of bolt holes for lateral hinges in the doorposts and for bolts in the thresholds. The purpose of this building is uncertain. It looks as if it can have been nothing but a prison: but the site is curiously chosen (though the neighbourhood to a post of the vigiles on the opposite side of the road—for that was perhaps the use of the building with narrow slit windows, against which was later built the small arched chamber which now serves as a museum—would be a recommendation), and we hear nothing of a prison in so prominent a site from our classical authorities. The S.E. end of it is filled up by massive concrete foundations, which are still being patiently chiselled away. They extend beyond the walls of the Temple of Romulus, at any rate in front of the central hemicycle of the façade, and very likely belong to an earlier building, the place of which was taken by the temple.

The course of the *Sacra Via* before the time of Hadrian, has at last been definitely settled by the discovery of paving stones *in*

*situ* under the steps of the temple of Venus and Rome, about ten yards to the N.E. of the Arch of Titus.

This does not, however, render it necessary to suppose that the arch was moved by Hadrian: for we know that the arches of Septimius Severus, and of Constantine, were not originally traversed by roads, but had steps in the central opening as well as in the side passages (Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, 83, 174). Whether steps exist in the opening of the Arch of Titus has not yet been ascertained. The foundations are, however, very rough, and from their level (unless this was in any way altered when Valadier reconstructed the arch in 1822, which is unlikely), it seems improbable that the arch can have stood where it does now when the *Sacra Via* which ran to the east of it was in use.

If this is the case, the road mentioned in *C.R.*, 1902, 96, lasted on till the time of Hadrian. Its pavement has now been discovered on the S.W. of the Nova Via. Before crossing this, it was flanked on the N. W. side by the façade of the house described in *C.R.* 1900, 239. In attempting to identify it with the Sacer Clivus, I stated that this expression did not occur in Roman literature, except in two passages in Martial. I omitted to cite Horace, *Carm.* iv. 2. 35.

'quandoque trahet feroces per sacrum clivum merita decorus fronde Sigambros': but here the reference is clearly to the Capitol: the adjective *sacer* was not used in the time of Horace with reference to the imperial house, whereas in Martial's day it had become frequent.

If the reference in Horace were to the slope descending from the Velia to the Forum, 'trahet' would surely be an inappropriate word.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Excavations are also being carried on in the baths of Caracalla, which throw much light on the system of drainage and heating, and on the arrangement of the underground passages by which the slaves who attended to the comfort of the bathers, passed from point to point. It is to be hoped that a full account, with a detailed plan, of these interesting and important researches will be given. The baths of Caracalla are the only ones in Rome which are so well preserved as to render these investigations possible.

T. A.

*Revista italiana di Numismatica.* Vol. xiv. Part iv., 1901.

G. Dattari. 'Appunti di numismatica Alessandrina.' Coins of Alexandria bear the names of M. Aemilius Aemilianus and of M. [Julius] Aemilianus. Dattari maintains (in opposition to Poole, *Catal. Alexandria*, p. xxiv.) that these are coins of one and the same personage who was the immediate successor of the Galli. In the same article the chronology of the reign of Valerian I. is discussed.—Reviews. Dattari's 'Numi Augg. Alexandrini' and Macdonald's 'Hunterian Collection,' Vol. ii.

*Numismatic Chronicle.* Part 1, 1902.

Th. Reinach. 'Some Pontic Eras.' On coins of Pythodorus, Antonia Tryphaena, Amasia, Sebasteia, and Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis.

*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* (Athens). Parts 3 and 4, 1902.

J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie.' This part contains a catalogue of the coins of Ptolemais (Ace).—J. N. Svoronos. 'Ερμηνεία τῶν μνημείων τῶν Ἑλευσινιακοῦ μυστικοῦ κύκλου καὶ τοπογραφικά Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἑλευσίνος.

*Revue numismatique.* Part 1, 1902.

E. Babelon. 'Vercingétorix.' Babelon maintains that the portrait of Vercingetorix appears on some of his Gaulish coins. The strange male head on denarii of L. Hostilius Saserna, called by Eckhel 'Pavor' is also supposed to represent Vercingetorix.—A. Blanchet. 'Recherches sur les monnaies celtiques de l'Europe centrale.' On finds of coins in Bohemia &c.—Th. Reinach. 'Monnaies inédites des rois Philadelphes du Pont.' An unpublished tetradrachm with admirable portrait-heads of 'King Mithradates and Queen Laodice' ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. This King is the 'Mithradates Philopator, Philadelphus, son of King Mithradates' who is already known from an inscription. He probably succeeded Pharnaces as king of Pontus in B.C. 169. Rare tetradrachms with his head (alone) have been already published. A revised genealogical table of the Kings of Pontus is appended to this article.—Th. Reinach. 'Le rapport de l'or à l'argent dans les comptes de Delphes.' The ratio is 1:10 in B.C. 336-5.—A. Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles.'—A. de la Fuye. 'La dynastie des Kamnaskirès.' On the coinage of the Kingdom of Elymais. WARWICK WROTH.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

*Revue de Philologie.* Vol. 26, 2, 1902.

*Orientalia*, L. Havet. Notes on *Orientalis* with reference to Ellis' edition of the text. *Plautus*, Men. 1158, L. Havet. Reads *Venibunt servi, supellex, praedia, aedes, omnia*. Notes sur le Théétète, L. Laloy. On 158C, 161A, 175E. *Catulle* LXVII., R. Cahen. The object of the writer is 'to determine the minimum of hypotheses necessary to render this poem intelligible.' *Ad Oracula Chaldaica*, 7-8 = p. 18, 3 Kroll, J. Bidez. *Etudes cicéroniennes* I, J. Lebreton. On the comparative employment of *cum* and *quod* in propositions expressing equivalence. *La vie de Sextus Empiricus*, W. Vollgraff. Maintains that the life in *Suidas* refers to the sceptic philosopher and not to another person of the same name as has been generally thought, and so his biography may be constructed. *Sur la provenance de quelques manuscrits de Nonius Marcellus*, W. M. Lindsay. Some marginal notes from an edition of Nonius at the Bibliothèque Nationale give information of three MSS. viz., the Parisinus, Colbertinus, and Cantabrigiensis. *Une statue de Polyclète*, P. Foucart. An inscr. on a large pedestal found at Rome near the Baths of Titus Πυθολῆς ἡλῆος τέτταθλος Πολυκλείτου [Ἀργείου] refers to the elder Polyclitus as we know from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri II. that Pythocles was victorious in the pentathlon B.C. 452. *L'accusation contre Phryne*, P. Foucart. On a passage referring to this from an anonymous treatise on rhetoric published in the *Notices et extraits des manuscrits grecs*. Note sur un manuscrit épigraphique de la Bibliothèque Vallébienne à Rome, R. Poupardin. *Inscription métrique de Timagad*, T. Deutremier. An inscr. of five Latin hexameters found at the end of last year. Πατρόβουλοι, F. Cumont. This title only appears, to C.'s knowledge, in a single official text, viz., a rescript of the Emperor Julian (Ep. 11). The passage is explained.

*Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Etc.* Vol. 9, 2, 1902.

*Kulturschichten und sprachliche Schichten in der Ilias*, P. Cauer. Chiefly a criticism of Robert's *Studien zur Ilias*. C. maintains that Robert's principle—that of combining the analysis of the language and civilization with criticism of the composition—while in itself excellent, is applied by him in too fanciful a method. Ancient traits can never be a proof that the part in which they are found is old, for it is always possible that a younger poet has used them freely for his purposes. *Die Entwicklung der römischen Taktik*, E. Lammert. Criticizes Delbrück's *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*. The most important facts of Roman tactics show a regular course of development in spite of appearances to the contrary. The Romans knew how to combine the tradition of the past in this matter with the needs of the present and so made a progress which gave them the superiority over all competitors. These positions are maintained in detail by various examples. *Analogie im altgriechischen und altgermanischen Epos*, R. Müller. Points out resemblances between the Homeric poems and Beowulf and the Edda.

*Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.* 1902.

30 April. E. Rohde, *Ein biographischer Versuch von O. Crusius* (P. Stengel). O. Kern, *Inscriptionum Thesauriarum antiquissimarum syll. ge* (W. Larfeld), favourable. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (H. Steuding), favourable.

7 May. F. Dümmler, *Kleine Schriften* (H. Schenkl). 'These three volumes—on Greek philology, Philological contributions, and Archaeological additions—show the wide extent and richness of the late author's learning.' W. Belek, *Beiträge zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens*, II.



(V. Prásek), favourable on the whole. F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (H. Ziemer), very favourable. Brum-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, fortgeführt von P. Arndt. Lief. CII—CVI (W. Amelung). 'A monumental work.'

14 May. G. v. d. Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft*. 2. A. von A. v. d. Schulenburg (H. Ziemer). 'The work of a truly original thinker and investigator.' A. Wiedemann. *Die Unterhaltungslitteratur der alten Ägypter* (A. Höck), very favourable. *A Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum* (K. Regling). A catalogue of the Greek coins of Lydia by B. V. Head. H. Kallenberg, *Textkritik*

und Sprachgebrauch *Diodors*. I. (K. Jacoby). 'A program very stimulating and of permanent worth.' 21 May. *Festschrift*, Johannes Vahlen Zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet (I.). Contains 35 contributions from various scholars. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, IV. *Athen vom Frieden von 446 bis zu Kapitulation Athens im Jahre 404* (A. Höck). 'May the fifth volume soon appear!' A. Zimmermann, *Zur Entstehung bezw. Entwicklung der altrömischen Personennamen* (H. Ziemer), favourable. Macmillan's Guides: *Guide to Italy* (F. H.). 'On the whole we can only recommend the book.' F. W. Putzgers *Historischer Schulatlas*, bearb. von A. Baldamus und E. Schwabe, 25. A., very favourable.

### LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

All works are issued in 1902 unless otherwise stated.

- Ahlberg (Axel W.). *De proceleusmaticis iam borum trochaeorumque antiquae scaenicae poesis latinae. Studia metrica et prosodica* I. II. 8vo. 161, 30 pp. *Extr.* Lund, Möller.
- Aleiphronis *Rhetoris* epistularum libri IV. Annotat. critica inst. M.A. Schepers. Large 8vo. xlv. 172 pp. 1901. Groningen, Wolters.
- Anonymous *Argentiniensis*. Fragmente zur Geschichte des Perikleischen Athen aus e. Strassburger Papyrus. Herg. und erl. von Bruno Keil. Mit zwei Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Demy 8vo. xii. 341 pp. Strassburg, Trübner. Mk. 10.
- Aristophanes. Roemer (A.). Studien zu A. und den alten Erklärern desselben. Part I. Das Verhältnis der Scholien des Cod. Rav. und Venet. Nebst Beiträgen zur Erklärung der Komödien des A. auf Grund unserer antiken Quellen. Demy 8vo. XVI. 196 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 8.
- Aristotle. *Politics*, (edited) with an Introduction, two Prefatory Essays, and Notes critical and explanatory, by W. L. Newman. Vol. III. IV.: *Essays*, Books III—VIII. *Indexes*. Demy 8vo. lvi. 603, lxx. 708 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Each, net 14s.
- Vahlen (J.). Ueber einige Citate in A.'s Rhetorik. *Extr.* Sitzungsab. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Roy. 8vo. 29 pp. Berlin, Reimer. M. 1.
- Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*. Vol. I. part 3 contains the following classical articles: J. Beloch, Die attischen Archonten im 3. Jahrhundert. P. M. Meyer, Zum Ursprung des Colonats. B. Rappaport, Hat Zosimus I. c. 1—46 die Chronik des Dexippus benutzt? Roy. 8vo. Leipzig, Dieterich (Vol. I. complete in 3 parts, M. 20).
- Brugmann (K.). Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen. Auf Grund des fünfbandigen 'Grundrisses etc.' verfasst. Part I., Einleitung und Lautlehre Demy 8vo. vi. 280 pp. Strassburg, Trübner. M. 7.
- Bury (J. B.). A History of Greece to the death of Alexander the Great. With maps and plans. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. VIII. 534 pp. London, Macmillan. Net £1 5s.
- \* Slightly revised library edition of the one vol. School Edition of 1900.
- Cybulski (S.). *Tabulae quibus antiquitates graecae et romanae illustrantur*. III b.: *Nummi romani*, mit Text, M. 5. XV a.h.: *Roma antiqua*, mit Text, M. 11. XII. XIII. *Theatrum*, each, M. 4.
- Gardner (Percy) and Myres (J. L.) *Classical Archaeology in Schools*. With an Appendix containing Lists of Archaeological Apparatus. Demy 8vo. 35 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Net 1s.
- Gercke (A.). *Abriß der griechischen Lautlehre*. Cr. 8vo. VI. 86 pp. Folding table. Berlin, Weidmann. M. 1.80.
- Hannig (F.). *De Pegaso*. Demy 8vo. VIII. 162 pp. Breslau, Marcus. M. 6.
- Holland (R.). *Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros*. (Progr.). 4to. 32 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs. M. 1. 20.
- Homer. *Das alte Lied vom Zorne Achills aus der Ilias ausgeschieden und metrisch übersetzt* von A. Fick. 8vo. VIII. 130 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. M. 3.
- Iöris (M.) *Ueber Homerübertragung mit neuen Proben*, (Progr.). 8vo. 72 pp. Leipzig, Fock. M. 1. 20.
- Ludwig (A.). *Ueber die Papyrus-Commentare zu den homerischen Gedichten*. (Progr.). 4to. 24 pp. Königsberg.
- Horace. Vollbrecht (W.). *Ueber eine neue Hypothese in betreff der Herausgabe der Dichtungen des H.* (Progr.). 4to. 19 pp. Altona. M. 1.
- Inscriptionum. *Inscriptionum thessalicarum antiquissimarum Sylloge edita a C. Kalbfleisch* (Progr.). 4to. 18 pp. Rostock. M. 1.50.
- Liedloff (K.). *Die Nachbildung griechischer und römischer Muster in Seneca's Troades und Agamemnon*. (Progr.). 4to. 18 pp. Grimma. M. 1.
- Parthenii *Nicaeni quae supersunt*, ed. E. Martini (Mythographi Graeci, II. 1. Suppl.). Cr. 8vo. xvi. 106 pp. Facsimile pl. of Coll. Pal. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 2.40.
- Philosophici *Scriptores*. *Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculaneensis*, ed. S. Mekler. Demy 8vo. XXXVI. 135 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. M. 6.
- Plato. Ritchie (D. G.). *Plato*. Cr. 8vo. xii. 288 pp. Edinburgh, Clark. 3s.
- Plautus. *Comoediae recce. post F. Ritschl, G. Loewe, G. Goetz, F. Schoell*. Vol. I. part II.: *Epidicus*, iterum rec. G. Goetz. Demy 8vo. xvi. 129 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 4.
- Polybius. Cuntz (O.). *P. und sein Werk*. Mit einem Kärtchen. Demy 8vo. IV. 88 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 2.80.
- Russell (C. H. St. L.). *A Parallel of Greek and Latin Syntax for use in Schools*. Crown 8vo. xvi. 223 pp. London, Sonnenschein.
- Sappho. *Neue Bruchstücke der Sappho und des Alkaios* hrsg. von W. Schubart. *Extr.* Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Roy. 8vo. 15 pp. and plate. Berlin, Reimer. 50 pf.
- Wünsch (K.). *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Religion. 8vo. 70 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. M. 2.